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VOLUME VII
1979

Dr. Ludwik Sternbach

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OSCAR BOTTO

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It's really a proud privilege for Indologica Taurinensia to offer two lekhapattramañjarīs *to an eminent Indologist like Dr. Ludwik Sternbach, whose deep scholarship and achievements are so widely renowned and appreciated throughout all the world of Orientalists.*

Author of an amazing number of scientific works produced as Sanskrit-Texts Series, monographies, research articles in English, French, German, Polish and Russian, collected in different leading Indological Journals and Felicitation or Commemoration Volumes, Dr. Sternbach has privileged, above all, the fields of ancient Indian law, the Indian Fable literature and the sanskrit aphoristic literature.

His deep investigations offer as a matter of fact, in the field of juridical studies, results destined to retain all over the time their whole critic powerful, as they are — with regard to their accuracy and methodness — the essential means to whoever is leading a research about the juridical and political structures and about the civilisation itself of ancient India.

But since many years Dr. Sternbach has taken his warmest interest in the sanskrit gnomic literature in which he is by general consent the greatest specialist.

It's difficult to imagine a critical research more exhaustive than that devoted by Dr. Sternbach to the questions connected with the Collections and the reconstruction of a text or Ur-text of Cāṇakya's aphorisms, no doubt among the most fascinating and complex ones, linked as they are to a whole series of critical, philological and historico-political problems.

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But his monumentum aere perennius, *already and actually defined « a stupendous and gigantic task », bound to give an incomparable contribution to the definite arrangement of the boundless sapiental corpus of the* Subhāṣitas, *is constituted by the monumental undertaking of the* Subhāṣita-saṁgrahas.

This imposing summa *of the aphoristic literature in sanskrit which gathers the real results of an impressive amount of work, supported by a rich critical apparatus, is more than enough to testify the usefulness of the philological and critical methodology strictly followed by Doctor Sternbach in his systematic comparative researches. Such a work should be enough by itself to commit to the future of Indological studies the name of who had the courage of engaging in it and the ability of achieving it.*

With these two Felicitation Volumes, colleagues, friends and admirers of all the world intend to pay a reverent homage to L. Sternbach, to his scholarship — only equal to his modesty and his human kindness — and his prestigious contributions in all the fields of Sanskrit researches.

In presenting Dr. Sternbach with these two volumes they heartily wish him many more years of such a fruitful and enlightening activity in the cause of Sanskrit and Indological Studies.

Oscar Botto

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DR. LUDWIK STERNBACH'S BIO-DATA

Ludwik Sternbach born on the 12th December 1909 in Kraków (Poland), Polish citizen.

Finished his secondary and university studies at the Jagiellonian University of Kraków (Poland). LL.D. (1932) at University of Kraków; similtaneously studied Sanskrit and Indological Studies (1934). « Assistant » at the Cracow University of Sanskrit and Indology. Advocate in Kraków (1936-39). Teacher of Ancient Indian Polity at the University of Lwów (Poland) (1939-40). Professor of Ancient Indian Culture in Bombay University (1940-45) and Deputy Censor, Bombay (1940-45).

— Honorary professor of Dharmaśāstra and ancient Indian Culture in Bombay since 1941.

— Deputy Director of Research, United Nations, Department of Trusteeship and Non-self-governing Territories, New York from 1947 to 1970.

— Professeur associé de l'Indologie à la Sorbonne (Paris III) from 1970 to 1972.

— Professeur associé de la culture de l'Inde ancienne au Collège de France (Paris) from 1972 to 1976.

— Secretary-General of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies since 1973.

— Member of the Advisory Council of the Collège de France, Institut de Civilisation Indienne since 1980.

— Recipient (1975) of the gold-metal of Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta awarded by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta for the outstanding « contribution in the field of the Study of the Ancient Indian Society and Law ».

— Awarded the honorific degree of « Vidyāvācaspati *honoris causa* » (= Dr. Litt. h.c.) by the K. S. D. Sanskrit University, Darbhanga (Bihar).

— Awarded the honorific degree of Vidyāvācaspati *honoris causa* (= Dr. Litt. h.c.) by the Saṃpūrṇānanda Sanskrit University Vārāṇasī.

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— Member of the Oriental Commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Kraków/Warszava, 1949, 1959.

— Honorary Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta since 1978 « for contributions of outstanding merit in the fields of Humanistic Studies ».

— Honorary Fellow of the Akhila Bhāratīya Saṃskṛta Pariṣad, Lucknow since 1980.

— Honorary Fellow of the Nāgārjuna Buddhist Foundation, Gorakhpur since 1980.

— Honorary Member of the Gaṅganātha Jhā Research Institute, Allahabad since 1969.

— Honorary Member of the Viśva Pariṣad since 1958.

— Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

— Correspondent Member in the USA, of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay since 1949.

— Life-Member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

— Member of the International Academy of Indian Culture, Delhi.

— Member of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society.

— Member of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn.

— Member of the Société Asiatique, Paris.

— Member of the Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions, Bruxelles.

— Member of the Société d'Histoire de droit, Paris.

— Member of the Hakluyt Society, London.

— Member of the Editorial Committee for the Sahitya Akademi's Project « Inventaire raisonné des études du Rāmāyaṇa ».

— Honorary Member of the Editorial Board of the « Purāṇa », All India Kashiraj Trust, Vārāṇasī approved by the Government of India.

— Member of the Scientific Committee of the « Indologica Taurinensia », Torino (Italy).

— Member of the Advisory Board of the «Prajñāloka», Gorakhpur.

— Member of the Advisory Board of « History and Archaeology ».

— Member of the Editorial Board of the Bhārata Maniṣa, Vārāṇasī.

— Chairman of Section VI B (Classical Sanskrit) of the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, Delhi, 1966.

— General Rapporteur of the South-East section of the International Congress of the Société Jean Bodin for the Comparative History of Institutions, Warsaw, 1976 (on Rural Communities).

— Appointed General Rapporteur of Non-Islamic Asia of the International Congress of the Société Jean Bodin for the Comparative History of Institutions, Athens, 1981 (on Man versus Political Power).

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1938

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1939

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1940

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	Article
Ad.	Address
B	Book
I	Introduction, Foreward
P	In the Press
R	Review
RA	Review Article
RS	Short Review; Brief Notice

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
AIOC	All-India Oriental Conference
BhV	Bhāratīya Vidyā, Bombay, Journaloy
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
IHC	Indian History Congress
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal s'Gravenhage
IT	Indologica Taurinensia, Torino
JA	Journal Asiatique, Paris
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn.
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay
JGJRI	Journal o the Gaṅganātha Jhā Research Society, Allahabad
JOIB	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London
JUP	Journal of the University of Poona, Poona
NIA	New Indian Antiquary, Bombay
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung, Leipzig
PAN	Polska Akademia Nauk, Warszawa-Kraków
PO	Poona Orientalist, Poona
RUS	Rajasthan University Studies, Jaipur
VIJ	Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Hoshiarpur
VI Series	Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, Hoshiarpur

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PENTTI AALTO

ON THE ABSOLUTE INSTRUMENTAL IN SANSKRIT

In some of the texts included in standard university textbooks of Sanskrit (e.g. in those by Stenzler, Thumb, Boehtlingk, Edgerton) we meet cases of an obvious « absolute » instrumental, viz. of a noun in the instrumental construed with a participle in the same case. This construction is not, however, mentioned in the elementary grammars. The medieval Latin grammar by Alexander de Villa Dei already defined an absolute construction, the Latin Ablativus absolutus, as lacking a regular connection with the governing verb of the main clause, and later grammarians in general follow the same pattern. The most usual absolute construction in Sanskrit is the Locativus absolutus, in general well explained in our grammars. The less usual Genetivus absolutus is more rarely accounted for, inspite of the very thorough monograph which Ferd. de Saussure in 1881 devoted to it. In his study[1] he also called attention to certain cases with an obviously « absolute » instrumental, occurring in Sanskrit texts.

The first grammarian to describe this latter construction briefly was J. S. Speijer[2], who quoted instances from *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Pañcatantra* and *Kathāsaritsāgara*. According to this author the action expressed by the participle of the construction is presented as the cause or motive or means or accompaniment of the main action, « and in this respect it shows a close affinity to the Latin absolute ablative ». In the later edition of his work[3] Speijer quoted some additional instances from *Pañcatantra* and also from *Manu*. The Instr. abs. was also mentioned in the second edition of Whitney's grammar (§ 281g). On the other hand,

1. *De l'emploi du génitif absolu en sanscrit* (reprinted in « Recueil des publications scientifiques de Ferdinand de Saussure », Heidelberg, 1922, pp. 269-338), p. 337 fn. 1.
2. J. S. SPEIJER, *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leyden, 1886, p. 290 § 372.
3. J. S. SPEIJER, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax* (« Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde » I:6), Strassburg, 1896, § 213.

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Delbrück [4] seems to have paid no attention to the instrumentals of this type in his study on the syntax of the *Vedas* and *Brāhmaṇas*, though later scholars have referred to certain interesting passages in several works of the latter group. Thus Oertel [5] quotes a number of instances from the *Brāhmaṇa* literature which can be regarded as representing at least an intermediary stage between the normal dependent instrumentals and the absolute constructions. In 1928, in a long paper Sen [6] illustrated instances of these kinds in the Vedic prose, and, in the same year, in a second paper [7] quoted several instances from Buddhist Sanskrit works. He also pointed out that the « absolute » instrumental originates from the sociative. However, Sen's explanation of the construction is rather superficial: « What was originally a sociative instrumental, was sometimes used absolutely in Old (as well as in Middle) Indo-Aryan ». He further suggested that « some cases of the ablative absolute in Latin represent an original Indo European instrumental absolute ». In his rich but succinct grammar Renou [8] treated this construction, too. He joined Oertel in considering that in the oldest instances the instrumental is still dependent on the main verb though the bond may be a thin one, while in later narrative literature an undisputable absolute use of the instrumental is met with.

The « absolute » constructions in Indo-European languages in general consist of a noun and a participle, the noun expressing the agent of the action expressed by the participle. This agent is further different from the subject of the main clause. If we use the terminology of transformational grammar, the « deep structure » underlying an « absolute » construction has thus been an independent sentence. On the other hand, in Sanskrit, participial constructions, often consisting only of a demonstrative and a participle were used to repeat a longer or shorter part of the preceding clause in the beginning of the following sentence [9].

Since the nominal clause was originally the normal type of clause in Indo-European — and in Sanskrit — even a clause with a nominal predicate could be « transformed » into an « absolute » construction. It seems that the Instrumentalis absolutus might originate in cases of this type, in which the instrumental was, as suggested by Sen, a sociative one expressing accompaniment. Bühler explains in this way the passage Pañcat. II verse 42 (p. 9, 8) *mahatāpyarthasāreṇa yo viśvāsaṃ samāgataḥ* as an Instr. abs. *mahatā arthasāreṇa satā*. Even in the Locativus absolutus nominal predicates are possible, cf. e.g. *tvayi rakṣitari*

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4. B. Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax* (« Syntaktische Forschungen » V), Halle, 1888.
5. Hanns Oertel, *The Syntax of Cases in the Narrative and Descriptive Prose of the Brāhmaṇas* (« Indogermanische Bibliothek » I:18), Heidelberg, 1926, p. 89 ff.
6. Sukumar Sen, *An Outline Syntax of Buddhist Sanskrit*, « Journal of the Dept. of Letters, Univ. of Calc. », 17, 1928 (pp. 1-65), p. 25 f.
7. Sukumar Sen, *The Use of Cases in Vedic Prose*, ABORI 4, 1928, p. 120 ff.
8. Louis Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, 2nd ed. Paris, 1961, p. 313 f.
9. Delbrück, *op. cit.*, § 215; Oertel, *op. cit.*, § 70.

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quoted by Renou. In a Gen. abs. an adjective can also be used instead of the participle, cf. e.g. MBh Calc. 1, 8166 *akāmasya śatakratoḥ.*

Instances of instrumentals of this type are met with in the *Rig Veda*[10], e.g. RV 1, 23, 9 *hatá vṛtráṃ sudānava índreṇa sáhasā yujā́* « do slay Vṛtra, ye bounteous, with the powerful Indra as your ally », 2, 23, 18 *índreṇa yujā́ támasā párīvṛtaṃ bṛ́haspate nír apā́m aubjo arṇavám* « with Indra as thy associate thou hast, O Bṛhaspati, released the flood of the waters, dammed up by the darkness », 6, 44, 22 *ayáṃ devā́ḥ sáhasā jā́yamāna índreṇa yujā́ paṇím astabhāyat* « this god, born under exertion, has paralyzed the Paṇi with Indra as his ally », 7, 48, 2 *vā́jo asmā́ṅ avatu vā́jasātāv índreṇa yujā́ taruṣema vṛtrám* « may Vāja favour us in the winning of booty, with Indra as ally we shall overcome Vṛtra », 9, 11, 9 *pávamāna suvī́ryaṃ rayíṃ soma rirīhi naḥ, índav índreṇa no yujā́* « O Soma Pavamāna, grant us abundance of heroes, wealth, O Juice, with Indra as thy associate », 10, 62, 7 *índreṇa yujā́ níḥ sṛjanta vāgháto vrajáṃ gómantam aśvínam* « with Indra as their associate the sacrificants released the herd consisting of cows and horses », etc. In a corresponding way in Vedic prose, e.g. TS 6, 1, 7 *anumatayaivainayā krīṇāti* « she approving, he buys », Keith « verily he buys with her approved », 7, 5, 8 (4) *ekaikayā stutayā samāyanti* (Keith) « they come up each before one verse has been sung » (p. 626 fn. 11 « Practically an Instr. absol. »), AB 7, 18 *puraetrā vīravanto devarātena gāthinā́ḥ sarve rādhyā́ḥ stha* « with Devarāta as the leading hero ye heroic Gāthinas shall all prosper », 30, 8 *tvayaiva hotrā vayaṃ svargaṃ lokam eṣyāmaḥ* « with thee as Hotar we will attain the world of heaven » (cf. TS 6, 3, 7 (1) *agninā vai hotrā devā asurān abhyabhavan* « with Agni as Hotar the gods overcame the Asuras », and RV 5, 9, 2 *agnír hótā* « Agni is the Hotar »), 26, 3, 1 *dhenum upāhvayat tena vatsena yajamānāya sarvān kāmān duhe* « summoned a cow; with it as calf it milked all desires for the sacrificer »; KB 7, 10 *te somena rājñā ebhyo lokebhyo 'surān anudanta* « with Soma as king they drove away the Asuras from these worlds » (cf. PB 24, 18, 12 *te somena rājñā sarvā diśo 'jayan* « with Soma as king they conquered all the quarters »); PB 24, 18, 2 *devā vai vrātyā́ḥ sattram āsata budhena sthapatinā* « the gods held a sacrificial session, Budha being the Sthapati »; TS 6, 4, 8 *varuṇaṃ devā abruvan tvayāṃśabhuvā somaṃ rājānaṃ hanāmeti* (Keith) « the gods said to Varuṇa " with thee as helper we will slay Soma, the King " », cf. PB 8, 8, 1 *tvayā mukhenedaṃ jayāma* « with thee as leader we will win this »; PB 5, 1, 5 *sakṛd dhiṃkṛteṇa śirasā pārācā́ḥ stuvate* « having uttered *hiṃ* once and with the head (being bare) the Pārāca hymns are chanted »; MBh Calc. 3, 12758 *atha kālena mahatā sa matsyaḥ sumahān abhūt*, cf. Pañcat. (Kielhorn p. 40, 2) *atha gacchatā kālena samastadeśaḥ śatrubhir vyāpta*, ibid. (Stenzler) *gacchatā kālena saṃtatir abhavat*, (Hertel) *tayor gacchati kāle s.a.*, Mṛcchakaṭ *acireṇaiva kālena*, etc.

10. Heinrich Wenzel, *Instrumentalis im Rigveda*, Tübingen, 1879, p. 27 ff.

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Instances of the Instrumentalis absolutus seem to occur in most branches of Sanskrit literature. Many occurrences have been quoted e.g. from Buddhistic works, including Lalitavistara and Mahāvastu. However, Weller in his study on Lalitavistara regarded all the occurrences in it and in Mahāvastu as results of a confusion in the use of cases in Buddhist Sanskrit [11]. Examples of the Instr. abs. occur even in Pāli [12]. Cf. Saddharmap. p. 428, 7 *imāṃ sahāṃ lokadhātum āgacchati sma prakampadbhiḥ kṣetraiḥ pravarṣadbhiḥ padmaiḥ pravādyamānais tūryakoṭīnayutaśatasahasraiḥ, nīlotpalapadmanetreṇa vadanena suvarṇavarṇena kāyena* etc. « he arrived to the world with the ground shaking, lotuses being showered, numberless musical instruments sounding, with a face with eyes like blue lotuses, with a golden body, etc. » and Lal. 274, 10 *bodhisattvaḥ prakampyamānaiḥ kṣetrai raśmikoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇi niścāryaṃstūryaśatasahasraiḥ pravādyamānaiḥ mahatā puṣpāḍhyena pravarṣatā ambaraśatasahasrair bhrāmyamānaiḥ dundubhiśatasahasraiḥ parāhanyamānaiḥ, garjadbhiḥ pragarjadbhiḥ*, etc., Lal. 123, 19 *aṣṭābhiśca tūryaśatasahasraiḥ praghuṣyamānair mahatā ca puṣpavarṣeṇa abhipravarṣatā... kanyāśatasahasrāṇi sarvālaṃkārabhūṣitāḥ abhuvan*, 190, 7 *bodhisattvo... adrākṣīt puruṣaṃ mṛtam... jñātisaṃghaparivṛtaṃ sarvai rudadbhiḥ krandadbhiḥ paridevamānaiḥ prakīrnakeśaiḥ pāṃśvakīrṇaśirobhir urāṃsi tāḍayadbhir utkrośadbhiḥ pṛṣṭhato 'nugacchadbhiḥ*, cf. MVu II 154, 8 *mṛtako puruṣo kumārasya purato nirmito mañcake samāropito puruṣehi nīyate jñātīhi aśrukaṇṭhehi rudanmukhehi prakīrṇakeśehi uraṃ pīḍantehi karuṇaṃ pralapantehi* (Jones II p. 49): « ... conjured up before the prince a dead man. This dead man was placed on a litter and was borne by his relatives who sobbed, wept, dishevelled their hair, beat their breasts and made piteous lamentation ».

The originally sociative sense of the predicative noun in the instrumental seems to be beyond doubt (cf. the type *tvayā hotrā* above). In the same way the present participle in the corresponding function expresses an action accompanying that of the main verb. In Pāli SN I 226, 16 *Vepacitti... chattena dhāriyamānena... atikkami* « Vepacitti... with the sunshade being held (over him)... went through »: Hendriksen compares DN I 49, 3 *ukkāsu dhāriyamānāsu*; Mil. 112, 21 *aññataro puriso... paggharantena lohitena taṃ kaṇṭakaṃ nīhareyya* « another man pulls that thorn out with blood flowing out ».

The past participle, again, was originally probably understood as expressing the state or circumstances resulting from the action of the underlying verb, i.e. of the predicate of the presumed deep structure clause. In Manu 4, 181, *etair jitaiśca jayati sarvān lokān imān gṛhī* « these being won a householder wins all those worlds » the commentators Nārāyaṇa and Nandana read *etair jitaśca* « allowing himself to be con-

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11. Friedrich Weller, *Zum Lalita Vistara. Ueber die Prosa des L.*, Leipzig, 1915, pp. 24 and 43.

12. Hans Hendriksen, *Syntax of the Infinite Verb-Forms of Pāli*, Copenhagen, 1944, p. 45 f.

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quered by these »: in Bühler's opinion « this reading though less well attested than the vulgate, is perhaps preferable »; BhP 4, 11, 15 *bhūtaiḥ pañcabhir ārabdhair yoṣit puruṣaiva hi* « the male and female exist, the five elements having been composed », Nala 4, 12 (MBh crit. ed. vol. IV p. 1054 Appendix I 8, 12) *damayantī vaco 'bravīt samāplutābhyāṃ netrābhyāṃ śokajena vāriṇa* etc.

The absolute sense seems to be especially clear in cases in which the original action of concomitance, inherent in the sociative instrumental, is in fact denied or precluded. TB 2, 7, 9, 4 *udyatā sūryeṇa kāryaḥ, udyantaṃ vā etaṃ sarvāḥ prajāḥ prativandanti* « with the rising sun it should be performed, for all the creatures joyfully greet him rising », cf. KS 37, 1 *yad udati sūrye kriyata.* While the rising sun in a way « accompanies » the action of the main verb the expression *anuditena sūryeṇa* cannot be explained in a corresponding way: KS 8, 3 *naktaṃ vānuditena divoditena* « when the sun has not risen, there is night, when it has risen, there is day »; Rām. 2, 64, 18 *sa coddhṛtena bāṇena sahasā svargam āsthitaḥ* « as soon as the arrow had been drawn out, he mounted to heaven »; Rām. 2, 12, 100 *vinā hi sūryeṇa bhavet pravṛttir, avarṣatā vajradhareṇa vāpi* « there might be some active life even without sun and without Indra giving any rain »; BhG 11, 27 *kecid vilagnā daśanāntareṣu saṃdṛśyante cūrṇitair uttamāṅgaiḥ* « some caught between the teeth are seen with their heads crushed to powder ». The perfect participle comes thus to denote only past time without any sense of accompaniment of the main action. An absolute construction most closely resembling the Latin Ablativus absolutus has thus come to maturity: MārkP 84, 17 *etabhir hatair jagad upaiti sukham* « when these (foes) have been slain the world attains happiness »; Pañcat. (Kielhorn p. 40, 18) *subhage, samastaiḥ śatrubhir hatair annaṃ pānaṃ cāsvādayiṣyāmi*: Kielhorn in his notes (p. 20) does not at all take into account the sociative sense of the instrumental when stating « In Sanskrit the slaying of the enemies is looked upon as the instrument or means which will make the weaver again taste food; in English the slaying of the enemies and the tasting of food are considered merely as antecedent and sequent in the order of time »; Vetālap. (p. 9, 35) *caturbhir divasair atikrāntair bhūyo 'pi sā preṣitā*, cf. (ibid. 9, 25) *daśāhne samatikrānte... sā bhūyo 'pi preṣitā*[13]; MVu I 50, 13 *kiṃ nu khalu mayi parinirvṛte imehi ca śrāvakehi parinirvṛtehi imasmiṃ dharmākhyāne ntarhite ito kettakasya nu khalu kālasya buddho bhagavān loke upapadiṣyati* « when I have utterly passed away, when these disciples of mine have passed away, and when the preaching of the Dharma has ceased, after how long a time will an exalted Buddha appear in the world? », I 148, 1 *paripūrṇehi*

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13. *Die Vetālapañcaviṅçatika in der Recension des Çivadāsa und eines Ungenannten*, ed. by H. Uhle, *Abh.KM* 8, 1881, p. 9, 35 = *Jambhaladatta's Version of the Vetālapañcaviṅśati*, ed. by M. B. Emeneau, « Amer. Or. Ser. 4 », 1934, p. 18, *atha dinatraye gate sati.*

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ca daśahi māsehi sarve bodhisattvāḥ mātuḥ kukṣau prādurbhavanti dakṣiṇena pārśvena na ca taṃ pārśvaṃ bhidyate « with ten months being fulfilled all Bodhisattvas emerge from their mother's womb through the right side but do not pierce that side », etc.

In some cases a meaning like « after » or « as soon as » seems to fit in with the instrumental, e.g. Kathās. 10, 60, 52 *tena ceha praviṣṭena na śarīraṃ na me vanam* « after he has entered here I cannot call my body nor my wood my own », 12, 71, 273 *bhuktais taiḥ śaktubhiśchāgī samapadyata sā tadā* « as soon as she had eaten that barley-meal she became a she-goat », 12, 101, 30 *adācca divyāsvādāni tānyasmabhyaṃ phalāni saḥ, yair bhuktair amṛteneva tṛptā jātā vayaṃ tadā* « and he gave us those fruits of heavenly flavour, and as soon as we had eaten them we became, as it were, satisfied with nectar », 6, 28, 125 *kaṇṭhalagnena tenaiṣa tatkṣaṇaṃ mṛtyum āpsyati* « as soon as it touches his neck, he will suffer death ». MVu I 123, 2 *kṛtena buddhadharmeṇa nirvāyanti narottamā iti* « the supremes of men pass away when their Buddhahood has been fulfilled », I 257, 7 *tena āgatena vaiśālyānām amanuṣyavyādhiḥ praśāmyati* « as soon as he comes the demoniac plague among the people of Vaiśālī will be allayed », II, 101, 7 *uparuddhena kumāreṇa gṛhaṃ niḥśreyaṃ saṃvṛttam* « with the prince being imprisoned the household lost its good fortune », III 173, 7 *tena pītena asya smṛtir utpadye* « as soon as he had drunk it, the recollection came to him ». Divyāv. 113 *tayā gṛhītayā nāsya kāye śastraṃ kramiṣyati* « that being put on, no missile will hit his body ».

When treating the Genetivus absolutus Pāṇini 2, 3, 38 states *ṣaṣṭhī cānādare*. This construction should thus according to him be used only with a « psychological value » [14] « when disregard is to be shown ». The typical example of this is Nala 7, 8 (MBh crit. ed. 3, 56, 8) *vaidarbhyāḥ prekṣamānāyāḥ paṇakālam amanyata* « though the daughter of the Vidarbhaking was looking on ». The *anādara* in question depends, however, on extra-textual evidence, and we meet comparable cases even in connection with other absolute constructions. Cf. e.g. the Instrumentalis absolutus in Manu 9, 87 *yas tu tat kāryen mohāt sajātyā sthitamānayā* « he who by delusion of mind causes that to be performed by another though his wife of equal caste is alive »; MārkP 49, 9 *māsi māsyārttavaṃ yat tu na tadāsīt tu yoṣitām, tasmāt tadā na suṣuvuḥ sevitair api maithunaiḥ* (Pargiter:) « women did not have their courses month by month, hence they did not then bring offspring, although they engaged in sexual intercourse », 108, 2 *śātitais tejaso bhāgair daśabhiḥ pañcabhistathā, atīva kāntimaccāru bhānor āsīt tadā vapuḥ* « though fifteen parts of his glory had been pared away, the Sun's body was exceedingly beautiful and charming then » (Pargiter « when... »); Indische Sprüche 3981 (= Śabdak. Padmottarak. 22) *paropakāraḥ kartavyaḥ*

14. Jules Bloch, *Indo-Aryan from the Vedas to Modern Times*, Paris, 1965, p. 262.

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prāṇaiḥ kaṇṭhagatair[15] *api* « even though being in utmost danger of life one must help others », cf. Pañcat. (Liebich) *nābhakṣyaṃ bhakṣayet prajñaḥ prānaiḥ kaṇṭhagatair api* « the wise should not take improper food though being in utmost danger of life »: in all the instances *api* stresses the concessive nuance. A similar nuance is met with in Aśvaghoṣa's BC 13, 43 *śarīracittavyasanatāpas tair evaṃvidhaiś ca nipatyamānaiḥ naivāsanācchākyamuniś cacāla* translated by Sen (p. 25) « notwithstanding those austerities of body and mind, and inspite of such (followers of Māra the tempter) assailing, the sage of the Śākya race did not move from his seat »; even the Tibetan translation uses here an absolute construction with the instrumental: *phab-pa* (= *nipatyamāna*) *de daṅ* (= *ca*) *de-rnams-kyis* (= *tais*); Weller translates the Tibetan passage « Durch dies und das, das so herniederfiel... » Only Jäschke (§ 41, 7) quotes a concessive translation of the Tibetan Instr. abs. *čes smras mod kyis čes yid čhes par 'gyur* « though you did say so, by what shall I believe it »[16].

Especially when the predicate of the main clause stands in the future the participle of the absolute instrumental seems to imply a conditional nuance, e.g. Kathās. 6, 29, 55 *sakhi, bhuktaiḥ phalair etair jarā te na bhaviṣyati* « with these fruits eaten (= if you eat these fruits) old age will not reach you », 9, 55, 213 *dṛṣṭayā vindhyavāsinyā patnīputrau tvam āpsyasi* « with having seen (= if thou seest) Durgā thou wilt recover thy wife and son »; Ind. Spr. 427 (= Pañcat. ed. Koseg. I 402) *api putraiḥ kalatrair vā prāṇān rakṣeta paṇḍitaḥ, vidyamānair yatas taiḥ syāt sarvaṃ bhūyo 'pi dehinām* « even at the price of his wife and his son the wise shall save his life, since, if only this remains, men can reach all the other », etc.

Sometimes the context again suggests a causal nuance, e.g. Pañcat. (Bühler II p. 37, 13) *bhadra, na bhetavyam asmadvidhair mitrair vidyamānaiḥ* « my dear, thou shalt not be afraid with there being friends like us », Mvu I 198, 15 *yuṣmehi vinītehi mahājanakāyo vinayam āgami-*

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15. The same expression is met with in a Prakrit verse of the *Vetālap.*, p. 27, 19, ... *vi kaṃṭhaṭṭhio jīvo*, with variants (p. 216) *kuṃṭhatiajjva* and *kaṃṭhathiye jīye*. Alfred Master, *A Grammar of Old Marathi*, Oxford, 1964, p. 141, quotes absolute instrumentals like *uditeṃ raśmi-rājeṃ lopati caṃrādi tejeṃ* « as the lord of light arises the moon and other lights vanish ».

16. Friedrich Weller, *Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghoṣa* II, Leipzig, 1928, p. 132. Jäschke, *Tibetan Grammar*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1929. J. Bacot, *Grammaire du tibétain littéraire* I, Paris, 1946, p. 30, states that the instrumental has a causal sense (cf. II, Paris, 1948, p. 130 ff. with further instances). M. Lalou, *Manuel élémentaire de tibétain classique*, Paris, 1950, p. 27, § 27, 4, translates *ñal-bas* « en dormant » and *'di 'dra-bas* « cela étant ainsi ». Cf. further BC 6, 36 *nāsmi yātuṃ puraṃ śakto dahyamānena cetasā* « I am not able to go into the city with my mind burning », in Tibetan *me yis (= agninā) chig pa'i (= dahyamāna) sems kyis (= cetasā) ni groṅ du 'gro bar nus pa med.*

A Sanskrit temporal instrumental like *kālena* (BC 6, 16) is also translated into Tibetan with an instrumental *dus-kyis*.

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ṣyati « you having been instructed the mass of the people will attain the Discipline », etc.

While in Sanskrit the three cases, instrumental, ablative and locative represent the original Indo-European system, in Greek the instrumental and locative had already in prehistoric times merged into the dative. In Latin all three merged into one which had the form of the ablative. In all these languages (as well as in others, later attested ones) the use of the bare sociative continued e.g. when speaking of soldiers accompanying their leader, e.g. RV 1, 1, 5 *devó devébhir á gamat*, AB 1, 24, 4 *agnir vasubhir ud akrāmad indro rudrair varuṇa ādityaiḥ*, MBh Calc. 3, 2114 *abhijagmus tato bhīmaṃ rājāno... vicitramālyābharaṇair balair*; in Greek Hom. Od. 11, 161 ἐνθάδ' ἱκάνεις νηί τε καὶ ἑτάροισι « art thou come hither with thy ship and thy companions », Thuc. 1, 61 ἐπορεύοντο... τρισχιλίοις μὲν ὁπλίταις... ἱππεῦσι δὲ ἑξακοσίοις « proceeded... with three thousand hoplites... and with six hundred cavalry »; in Latin Caes. Bell. civ. 1, 41 *Caesar omnibus copiis Ilerdam proficiscitur* « C. set out for I. with all his troops ».

In Greek the sociative function of the dative made it possible to use it even in absolute constructions, e.g. Hom. Il. 8, 487 Τρωσὶν μέν ῥ' ἀέκουσιν ἔδυ φάος « sorely against the will of the Trojans sank the daylight », Od. 21, 115 οὔ κέ μοι ἀχνυμένῳ τάδε δώματα πότνια μήτηρ λείποι « it will not vex me that my honoured mother should leave this house », Soph. Oed. Tyr. 156 ἢ περιτελλομέναις ὥραις πάλιν ἐξανύσεις χρέος (Storr) « or with the circling years renewest a penance of yore? », to be compared with the gen. abs. Hom. Il. 2, 551 περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν « as years go round ».

A Finnish classical scholar, Erik J. Tammelin, explained[17] the Latin Ablativus absolutus as originating from sociative ablatives representing the original instrumental case. According to him the development started from constructions with nominal predicates like Plaut. Stich. 602 *me auctore* « with me as instigator », Trin. 1161 *impetrabit te advocato atque arbitro* « with thee as advocate and judge he will win his case ». The earliest constructions with a present participle are also clearly sociative, e.g. Ter. Heaut. 1042 *pudet dicere hac praesente verbum turpe* « I am ashamed to use the disgraceful word with her (= your mother) being present ». The counterpart of *praesens*, viz. *absens*, does not permit any sociative explanation: Plaut. Amph. 827 *te qui absente hic munus fungatur tuom* « who shall perform thy duty during thy absence ». The past participle in Amph. 643 *absit dum modo laude parta domum se recipiat* might still have a sociative sense « he may be absent provided that he will return home with won fame », but in Men. 989 *sed metuo ne sero veniam depugnato proelio* « but I am afraid I am coming too late, the battle having been fought », or in Coelius Antipater frg. *custodibus discessis multi interficiuntur* « many were killed after the watchmen

17. In his dissertation *De participiis priscae Latinitatis*, Helsinki, 1889, p. 126 ff.

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had left » no accompaniment exists any more. Tammelin's instance Ter. Andr. 923 *Atticus quidam olim navi fracta ad Andrum eiectus est* « some years ago an Athenian was stranded at Andros, his ship being wrecked » may be compared with Sanskrit MVu III 68, 1 *te dāni tena yānapātreṇa vipannena devadevāṃ namasyanti* « with their vessel broken up, they pray to various gods ».

When discussing Tammelin's theory, Karl Brugmann [18] pointed out that the pronominal form *quī* in Plaut. Bacch. 335 *qui praesente id aurum Theotimo datumst?* is used in Latin only as an instrumental. Tammelin's thoughts were further developed by his compatriot Edwin Flinck [19]. However, none of these scholars used the Sanskrit Instrumentalis absolutus as evidence though it would have given very good support to their theory. In Wackernagel's opinion [20] it was possible that there had already been an absolute construction in Indo-European, but he regaded it as uncertain which case had been used, and in what particular sense. In his dissertation Wenzel already compared the Rigvedic expression *indreṇa yujā* with Latin absolute ablatives, and Sen [21] regarded both constructions as originating in an Indo-European absolute sociative instrumental. This seems thus be a tempting answer to the question left open by Wackernagel.

18. In his paper *Die mit dem Suffix -to- gebildeten Partizipien*, IF 5, 1895, p. 143.

19. Edwin Flinck, *De ablativo absoluto quaestiones*, « Ann. Acad. Scient. Fenn. B:XX:1 », Helsinki, 1929.

20. Jacob Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* I, Basel, 1920, p. 293.

21. Sen, ABORI 9, p. 120. Jean Haudry, *L'emploi des cas en védique*, Lyon, 1977, p. 90, translates Avesta Yašt 10, 80ϑ *ā paiti* « avec toi comme chef », as did e.g. Bartholomae and Wolff, while Lommel renders it « through thee, O Lord ». — I cannot see that there had been any essential difference between Sanskrit *Indreṇa yujā* and Latin *Cicerone consule*, as Haudry l. c. suggests.

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GEORGE T. ARTOLA *

ACTING COACHES IN THE SANSKRIT THEATRE

With few exceptions, most of the recent studies on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* have stressed its *rasasūtra* and the aesthetic theory of Abhinavagupta to which it has given rise. It must be remembered, however, that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is primarily a practical code of acting destined for actors in the training for their performance (*prayoga*). With emphasis on voice production and bodily expression (*abhinaya*), song and music, the core of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* must have been essentially a textbook for the teaching of actors and dancers. It is to such a work that Kālidāsa refers at the moment that Gaṇadāsa states that he has taught Mālavikā the *pañcāṅgābhinaya*, by which he means *sattvābhinaya*, *vāgabhinaya* and *aṅgābhinaya*, plus song and music. The *saṃgīta* episode in the first two acts of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, in fact, gives us valuable insight into the training of a performer on the Indian stage. Especially important is the view that Gaṇadāsa has of himself as her teacher. In Kālidāsa's text are several expressions which qualify him and at least one which qualifies his own teacher. Although in one instance he is addressed as *ārya* by Bakulāvalikā, he is more generally called *ācārya*, *naṭyācārya*, *abhinayācārya* or *nartayitṛ*. The latter term denotes specifically his function as a teacher of dancing, whereas the others signal him as an acting coach. Gaṇadāsa mentions his own training as follows, using *sutīrtha* to designate his teacher: *mayā sutīrthād abhinayavidyā śikṣitā* (I learned the art of acting from a good teacher) [1].

Kālidāsa employs four technical terms for acting, which delineate its practical aspect: *prayogaviṣaya*, *pañcāṅgābhinaya*, *abhinayavidyā* and *prayoga*. In the light of this, the earliest definition of drama as *abhineyārtha*, used by Bhāmaha in his *Kāvyālaṃkāra*, turns out to be quite accurate, and even more accurately it could be stated as *pañcāṅgābhi-*

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1. A. Scharpé, *Kālidāsa-Lexicon*, vol. I, Bruges, 1956, p. 16.

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nayārtha. It was the duty of the acting coach to impart to the *nāyaka*, *nāyikā* and other members of the theatrical troupe the tenets contained in a *pañcāṅgābhinaya* text. How was this accomplished? Gaṇadāsa's mention of his teacher indicates that these principles of *abhinaya* were taught by master to pupil. For the method of teaching we must look to early references to teachers of actors. In the fourth century B. C. Pāṇini was aware of *naṭasūtras* (composed by Śilālin and Kṛśāśva), that is, texts in *sūtra* form that were devoted to the training of the actor (*naṭa*) [2]. Later terms for actor, quoted by Patañjali in his Commentary on Pāṇini's Grammar, are *śobhanika* and *granthika* [3]. It would not be difficult to assume that the *pañcāṅga* text consisted of *sūtras* which were cited to the actor by his *ācārya* as the point of departure for knowledge of *prayogaviṣaya*. The *naṭa* learned by rote the *sūtras*, by means of which he mastered his craft. By merely quoting the appropriate *sūtra*, the *ācārya* made his corrections for the improvement of the actor's performance. The *naṭasūtras* constituted an early text (*pūrvatantra*) by which the *nāṭyācārya* passed on to his disciples the *śiṣṭopadeśa*, that is, the instruction learned from his teacher.

Whatever happened to this *pūrvatantra*? The question is answered by the following verse of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*:

> *śeṣam uttaratantreṇa Kohalas tu kariṣyati /*
> *prayogaḥ kārikāś ca niruktāni tathaiva ca //* [4]

The author of the present *Nāṭyaśāstra* imprinted his mark upon his work, particularly in the first and last chapters, and also he credited those from whom he had taken or, we prefer to say, would take his materials. He, at a given moment, had not as yet added to the *pūrvatantra* the text of Kohala's *uttaratantra* (consisting of eleven *aṅgas*), and so he states that Kohala will make (*kariṣyati*) the remainder (*śeṣa*) of *his* text with an *uttaratantra*, with *uttara* referring to Kohala's continuation of the *pañcāṅgābhinaya* text. It is from this point of view that the verse from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* can be easily understood.

In the *bhūmikāvikalpa* (distribution of rôles) chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the third verse asserts that it is the *ācārya* who assigns the various rôles to the actors. The fourth verse repeats that the *ācārya* should distribute the rôles after having ascertained the *guṇas* of the actors [5]. It is only when we reach the twenty-first verse that the identification of the *ācārya* is made, and he is linked with playwright and

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2. Pāṇini, *Pāṇini's Grammatik*, ed. Otto Böhtlingk, Leipzig, 1887, p. 199. For a recent discussion of Pāṇini's knowledge of Sanskrit drama, cf. S. N. Ghosal, *Pāṇini and the Sanskrit drama*, « Journal of the Asiatic Society », Calcutta, XVIII (1976), pp. 1-6.

3. Patañjali, *The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali*, ed. F. Kielhorn, 3rd ed., Poona, 1965, vol. II, p. 36.

4. Bharatamuni, *The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni*, vol. IV, Baroda, 1964, p. 511.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 497.

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player in this expression: *sūtradhāro nāṭyakaro nāyakaś.* After listing in previous verses qualifications of the ideal *sūtradhāra,* the thirtieth discloses his primary function:

> *gītasya ca vādyasya ca pāṭyasya ca naikabhāvavihitasya /*
> *śiṣṭopadeśayogāt sūtrajñaḥ sūtradhāras tu //* [6]

The verse is of special significance for it also explains competently the term *sūtradhāra,* which has been misunderstood and mistranslated on so many occasions. He is rightfully called *sūtrajñaḥ* since he knows the *naṭasūtras* which constitute his own *śiṣṭopadeśa,* what he has learned from his *ācārya.* Consequently, the one who causes the actors to learn (*dhārayati*) the *naṭasūtras* is the (*naṭa*)*sūtradhāra.* Moreover, it is he who signals and demonstrates the *bhāvas* which are to be produced by the actors. In short, he is their acting coach.

By dint of his knowledge of acting (*abhinayavidyā*) he is able to control the whole performance and, at the same time, to take an active part in the production (from the *pūrvaraṅga* on) as one of the principal personages. In the *prastāvanā* of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava,* the *naṭa* tells the *sūtradhāra*: *tā bhūmikās tadaiva bhāvena sarve gargyāḥ pātītāḥ* (All the members of the troupe have been made to learn their rôles by you) [7]. The statement immediately following indicates that both of them take part in the performance, the *sūtradhāra* playing the rôle of Kāmandakī and the *naṭa,* that of Avalokitā. Previous attempts to connect the *sūtradhāra* with puppet-shows and land-measurement and architecture must now be viewed as imaginative guesswork. The important verse of the Gaekwad Oriental Series edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* correctly characterizes the function of the *sūtradhāra* as an acting coach. Designations such as « chief architect of the theatre », « holder of the clue », etc. are inadequate for an understanding of the prime rôle of the *sūtradhāra* as *nāṭyācārya* on the Indian stage [8].

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6. *Ibid.*, p. 498.
7. Bhavabhūti, *Mālatīmādhava,* TSS 170, Trivandrum, 1953, p. 31.
8. I. Shekhar, *Sanskrit Drama: Its Origin and Decline,* Leiden, 1960, p. 82.

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PURNA HARSHA BAJRACHARYA *

THAN BAHIL, AN ANCIENT CENTRE FOR SANSKRIT STUDY

Nepal is known for her admiration of Sanskrit language from time immemorial. The inscriptions [1] show that Sanskrit was not only the language of the educated but it also served as the official language during the Licchavi period. Its importance has remained always high for the learned people even at the subsequent periods of the Mallas and the Shah rulers. Among the Mallas, King Pratap Malla is famous for his wide knowledge of various languages and particularly of Sanskrit. His poems [2] in Sanskrit made him known as *Kavīndra*. Learned scholars always recieved the patronage under the Malla kings. Similar is the case with Shah kings as well. In this connection, the name of Crown Prince Pratap Singha Shah comes to the fore front, under whose Chairmanship, the first Sanskrit Conference, in the International level, participated by the then well-known Sanskrit scholars from twelve different countries, was held at Balaju in Nepal in the 18th Century A.D. The participants numbering about seventy had come from such a distant places like Kashmir and Madras. This Conference was coordinated by Mahakavi Laxmana [3].

Similarly, King Girvanyuddha Bir Vikrama Shah deserved special mention for establishing the first Sanskrit Library in the 19th Century

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* Chief Officer H.M.G., Nepal, Consultant Member I.A.S.S.

1. Instances can be found out in the inscriptions scattered in different parts of the country. These inscriptions are published in:
   a) *Nepalese Inscritpions in Gupta Charecters*, by RANIERO GNOLI, Part I & II, Pub. by I.S.ME..O., Rome, 1956.
   b) *Lichhvi kālaka abhilekha*, by DHANAVAJRA VAJRĀCHARYA, Pub. by Tribhuvana University, Nepal, 2030 Vikrama Samvata.
   c) *Nepālako prācīna abhilekha*, ed. by Hari Rām Joshi, Pub. by Royal Nepal Academy, Nepāl, 2030 Vikrama Samvata.
2. D. WRIGHT, *History of Nepal*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1877, p. 213.
3. MAHĀKAVI LAXMANA (ed.), *Kavitānikaṣopalah* (in Sanskrit), Yogapracāriṇi Goraksha tillā, Kāshi, 1878, Sakya Samvata.

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A.D. under the name Pustak Khana, now incorporated as the National Archives, Nepal, to facilitate the learned people to study the Sanskrit language. Sanskrit has succeeded to preserve its importance as against the onslaught of the English Education.

The impact of Sanskrit language can be seen in our day to day life as well through its effect in the names of the persons, castes, cities, Squares, Viharas etc.. The names of the persons are usually Sanskrit words from the kings down to the common people. For example:

1) Sarada Prasad
2) Gaja Ratna
3) Hiranya Nath etc.

Similarly the names of the castes are also found in Sanskrit words. Example:

1) Khadgi - Kasain
2) Visvokarma - Kami
3) Ranjitkar - Chhipa
4) Maharjan - Jyapu

As for the cities also, Kathmandu is known as Kasthamandapa; Patan as Lalitpur; Bhadgaon as Bhaktapur etc.

To add to this list are Sanskrit names of the squares and Viharas.

Square

Ashokamandapa for Ason Tole

Viharas

1) Gunakaramahavihara for Chhusya Bahal
2) Henakaramahavihara for Dhoka Bahal
3) Hiranyavarnamahavihara for Kwabhu Bahal etc.

The importance of Sanskrit language among the learned people in the ancient Nepal is reflected in the existence of several learning centres in Nepal, among others are the Viharas and Mathas. Here the attempt is made to concentrate only in Vihara and its contribution in the development of the Sanskrit language in the ancient times.

The word Vihara is constituted of two Sanskrit words, *viharati+iti* meaning there by a peaceful place for resting purposes and it is a Sanskrit word in itself. The Vihara functioned as a peaceful place before the emergence of the Enlightened Buddha. According to the famous Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang of the seventh century King Suddhodana, and Queen Maya Devi the parents of Siddhartha Gautama had their own personal viharas with their statues at Kapilavastu[4]. But it was Siddhartha the Enlightened Gautama Buddha who turned the Vihara into a preaching centre from a mere resting place. Thus he gave the prominent status of the prominence to the Vihara. Later on these Viharas became a learning centre for Sanskrit studies and evidences show that in the

4. Shaman Hwui Li & Samuel Beal, *The life of Hiuen Tsiang*, Academica Asiatica, India, 1973, pp 94-95.

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thirteenth century, Dharma Shri Mitra[5], Dharmaswami[6] visited Nepal for their advanced learning in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit language which was solely used in all official documents during the Licchhavi period has thrived and developed in this Vihara. Thus these Viharas seemed to have played an instrumental role in the development and fostering of the Sanskrit studies in Nepal.

Among such Viharas is Than Bahil or Vikramasil Mahavihara situated north of Kathmandu- a little behind the Amrit Campus at Lainchour. Though the time of its establishment has remained in obscure, the existing evidences show its presence in the 13th century. The famous Indian scholar Dharmashri Mitra from Vikramasila Vihara, Varanasi[7] came here for the advanced study of Sanskrit language in order to understand a Buddhist epics which is written in Sanskrit[8]. The similarities between the names of the two places might indicate that the name of the Vihara has been put after the name of the Indian Vihara, where he has come from. His arrival to this place for the higher study in Sanskrit is an ample evidence of the higher understanding of Sanskrit language in Nepal. Another evidence that supports its existence in the thirteenth century is a manuscript named *Prajnaparamita*[9]. The writing of this manuscript was started by Manjushri and completed by Jinashri Jñāna. This book is dated Nepala Samvatta 344 Margasira Pratipada (1223 A. D.). This shows that Manjushri had visited here in the thirteenth century. Further, another scholar associated with this Vihara was a Tibetan scholar Dharma Swami by name, happened to visit this vihara for the study in the same thirteenth century. Thus the stay of these eminent scholars in this Vihara, showed that this Vihara had been one of the prominent learning centres of Sanskrit study in those days. Even to day visitors from Tibet and the Buddhist priests from different Vihara are continuing to come to this place for seeing and studying Prajñapāramita. The Vihara had to provide fooding and lodging to any priests coming from outside for study. At present cash award is made in place of free fooding. This shows the incentives for higher learning given to the scholars.

Then the word old vihara is clear proof of its first rate importance among the viharas of Kathmandu and certainly it was an abode of higher learning. The literal meaning of Than Bahi is the old vihara. Than means elder or most appropriatly Older and Bahi means vihara.

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5. Shastri Haraprasad (ed.), *The Vrihat svayambhu puranam, Sasthodhyaya*, pp. 315-369.
6. *Kathmandu Valley*, Prepared by His Majesty's Government of Nepal in collaboration with the United Nations and UNESCO, Anton Schroll & Co., Vienna, 1975, p. 13.
7. Mahāpaṇḍit Abhayākargupta, *Niṣpannayogāvali*, ed. by Bhattacharya Binayatosh, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1949, p. 10.
8. *Nāmasangīti.*
9. It is the greatest philosophical work on the Buddhism containing of 18,000 *ślokas.*

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This vihara is square in shape with chaityas made of stone and other Buddhist images of Licchhavi period. One inscription dated Nepala Sambata 802 Chaitra Sukla Panchami (1781 A.D.) mentioned the brick paving of this vihara by Hari Singha during the reign of King Parthipendra Malla[10]. The principal image of this vihara is said to be that of Devavatara and it is moulded by metal plate. The house sheltering the image is in the shape of a temple with triple roofed and others around the vihara are two storeyed and the ground floor is used for the study purpose till now. Other storeys of this house is meant for sheltering the scholars coming for the study from outside. This can be see in the designing of the rooms alignment pattern in the first floor. Thus, this vihara situated at the peaceful environment with the academic atmosphere, has been providing a congenial atmosphere for learning in the past and continue to remain so in year to come.

10. National Archives, Stone Inscription No. 173. Also See: RAJVAMSA SANKER MAN, *Kāntipura Silālekha suchi*, H.M.G. of Nepal, 2027 V. S., p. 125.

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M. D. BALASUBRAHMANYAM *

ASE-WORDS IN PĀṆINI AND THE VEDA

0. Introduction

An attempt is made in this paper to examine the Vedic *ase*-words in the light of Pāṇini's rules of word-formation and accentuation [*Aṣṭādhyāyī* (= *A*) 3,4,9; 1,3; 6,1,197]. Having briefly reviewed the position maintained by some Western Vedists regarding the infinitival character of *ase*-words, the paper determines their morphological *cum* accentual structure based on the Pāṇinian system and « the Space-Time perspective » [1].

1. Pāṇini: *A* 3,4,9

1.0. Pāṇini (= P.) teaches in the rule, *tum.arthe se.sen.ase.asen.kse-kasen . . . tavenaḥ* (*A*.3,4,9) that in the Sacred Literature (*chandasi* recurring from *A* 3,4,6 into 9), fifteen *kṛt-pratyaya*-s (= *KP*s) such as *se*, *seN*, *ase*, and other primary suffixes, enumerated in the rule 9, are appended to roots to denote the sense of *-tum* (tumUN). Of these 15 *KP*s I focus my attention only on three *KP*s which are: *ase*, *aseN* and *KaseN* (= bound morpheme *-ase*).

1.1. The infinitives (= infs) in *-ase* accent the suffix-initial in accordance with P.'s accent rule *A* 3,1,3, while those in *aseN* and *KaseN* are barytonic, which is indicated by the accent exponent /*N*/ through the force of *A* 6,1,197. Typical instances are: *doh-ase* (√*duh* + *ase*) « to milk », *bhój-ase* (√*bhuj* + *aseN*) « to enjoy or protect » and * *śríy-ase* (√*śri* + *KaseN*) « to have recourse to, to be resplendent », etc. — instances — in which the first inf. appears with the suffixal accentuation, while the rest have the radical accentuation.

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* Principal, K. S. Vidyapeetha, Tirupati (A.P.), India.

1. S. M. Katre, *Two Lectures on Linguistics*, Agra, 1959, pp. 24-25.

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2. Pāṇinīyas

2.0. That P. has drawn his Vedic materials from firsthand experience, is clearly shown by the way in which he structures the formation and accentuation of words (= Ws) formed with *-ase* and other infinitival suffixes enumerated in *A* 3,4,9. Yet most of the Pāṇinīyas have commented on this rule in a rather lethargic and lateral manner.

2.1. Patañjali, in his *Mahābhāṣyam ad A* 3,4,9, has not provided us with any illustration for Vedic infs. But he concentrates his attention only on the significance of the expression *tum.arthe* which occurs in this rule. The suffix *-tum*, according to him, is employed by P. neither in the agentive sense (*kartā* by *A* 3,4,67) nor in the accusative or other syntactic relations, since it is understood by implication (*jñāpana-*) that the meaning of *-tum* should be differentiated from the rest (i.e. agentive, etc.). In conformity with the semantic theory, that the suffixes whose meanings are not specifically determined by P. carry the *svārtha-* (the sense of the nucleus), *-tum* denotes the radical meaning (*dhātvarthaḥ*), that is, *bhāva.*

2.2. According to Kaiyaṭa[2] and Nāgeśa[3] [*Śekhara* to *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* (= SK) 3436] *-tum* denotes *sādhya*: « durative action » (which is opposed to *siddha*: « frozen action »).

2.3. The authors of the *Kāśikā* (= K[4]) and *SK* 3436 (*supra*) are somewhat sketchy in illustrating the rule with adequate *ase*-Ws as shown in Table I as under:

TABLE I

Commentary	*KP*	*Vedic citation*	*Vedic reference*
K	*ase/aseN*	krátve dákṣāya jīváse	ṚV 10,57,4b = MaiS 3,11,10
»	*KaseN*	* bhágāya śríyase	?
SK	*ase*	śarádo jīváse dhāḥ	ṚV 3,36,10c
	aseN	* * * * * *	* * *
	KaseN	gávām-iva śriyáse	ṚV 5,59,3a

It emerges from Table I that both *K* and *SK* pass over *aseN* in silence. On the one hand, the Vedic illustration cited in *K* may be regarded as one of the untraced vedisms; on the other hand, the

2. *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*, Ed. Vedavrata, Rohtak, 1963, vol. III: 375 [*s.v. A* 3,4,9].

3. *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* [with *Bālamanoramā* and *Tattvabodhinī*], Ed. Carudeva-Bhaskar, Varanasi, 1961, vol. IV: 346.

4. *Kāśikā* [with *Nyāsa* and *Padamañjarī*], Ed. Shastri-Shukla, Varanasi, 1966, vol. III: 156.

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Ṛgvedic *śriyáse*, cited in *SK*, is a paroxytone vis-a-vis the barytone intended by P., since the exponent /N/ of *KaseN* allows the accent to rest with the initial syllable of the W.

3. Vedic ase-words

3.0. The *ase*-Ws are typical Ṛgvedic formations. Although twenty-seven *ase*-Ws are attested in *ṚV*, it cannot be argued with certainty that all these play the infinitival role *sensu stricto*. In fact the *KP ase* forms, from roots (= Rs) of different kind, infs (simples) numbering at least fifteen, according to my count, in *ṚV*. Sāyaṇa admits of seven *ase*-Ws alone as infs. Such Ws are: *ávase*, *ṛcáse*, *ṛñjáse*, *jīváse*, *doháse* (*ad ṚV* 6,45,7; 66,1; 5), *rājáse* and *śriyáse*. To this we may now add: *áyase*, *arháse*, *kṣádase*, *tujáse*, *bhójase*, *śobháse*, *spárase* and *spūrdháse*.

3.1. Before proceeding to a categorisation of the Vedic infs in *-ase* (§ 3.2 *infra*), a reference may be made to the theoretical position maintained by some Western Vedists with regard to the complex character of the *ase*-Ws which are productive in *ṚV*. Some of these Ws are considered « augenblicksbildungen », while others as showing a « Quasi-infinitival character ».

According to several philologists[5], some twenty-five *ase*-Ws are datives of stems in (the neuter suffix) *-as* [< s]. Of these, eighteen Ws appear with bound morphemic accentuation, the rest having the radical accentuation.

3.1.1. Wackernagel[6] classifies these Ws under the three following categories:

(i) Primitive infs with suffixal accentuation and weak-grade R-vowel: *ṛcáse* « to praise », *tujáse* « to hurl », *puṣyáse* « to thrive », *vṛdháse* « to promote ».

(ii) Infs with suffixal accentuation and strong-grade R-vowel mostly from Present stems: *arháse* « to be worthy of » (: *árha-*), *javáse* « to speed » (:*jáva-*), *doháse* « to milk » (: *dóhate*), *bhojáse* « to enjoy » (: *bhójate*), *śobháse* « to shine » (: *śóbha-*).

(iii) Other infs with radical accentuation from Present stems: *kṣádase* « to partake of » (: *kṣáda-*), *cákṣase* « to see » (: *cáṣṭe*), *bhárase* « to bear » (: *bhára-*), *hárase* « to seize » (: *hára-*).

3.1.2. Although the *ase*-Ws may be grouped under these categories, yet there are one or two difficulties which airse in connection with this classification: first, that all *ase*-Ws listed above, are not infs *sensu stricto*, that is to say, it is not an easy task to consider such Ws as

5. B. Delbrück, *Das ai-Verbum...*, Halle, 1874, pp. 221-8; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, Strassburg, 1910; and T. Burrow, *Sanskrit Language*, London, 1955, 158.
6. J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, 1954, vol. II-2: 229-30.

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vṛdháse (besides *dhruváse*, *vṛñjáse*) as belonging to the class of genuine infs, since these are *hapax legomena* in *ṚV*; and second, that it is difficult to explain the anomalous accentuation [7] of the corresponding (neut.) stems in *-as-* on the one hand, and the verbal themes on the other as seen in:

javáse (paroxytone): *jávas-* (barytone); and
doháse (paroxytone): *dóhate* (barytone).

3.1.3. The precise character of some twenty-two *ase*-Ws is subjected to a searching scrutiny by Manessy [8] who takes into consideration such criteria as morphological structure, syntactic and semantic functions in evaluating these formations. She divides the *ase*-Ws under three categories as shown below:

(i) Les infinitifs barytons à degré radical plein;

(ii) Les infinitifs oxytons à degré radical réduit; and

(iii) Les infinitifs oxytons à degré radical plein.

The first categaory belongs to the domain of the noun (*domaine du nom*), the second quite near to the verbal zone and almost integrated to it (*la zone verbale et presque intégrés à celle*), and the third constitutes « *une catégorie transitoire* » (p. 207). She thinks that the barytonic *ase*-Ws are not genuine infs (p. 92), but these can always be interpreted to mean « *datifs finals de substantifs* » (p. 207), and often present other characteristics which mark of their nominal nature.

At the end of her study, Manessy (p. 208) finds it difficult to prove the existence of a proper inf. in *-ase*, and from the linguistic point of view, she regards the *ase*-Ws as dative forms of verbal nouns. Furthermore, the infs in *-ase* do not participate in the essential character of the verb of the Indoeuropean languages, which is its capacity to indicate « time ».

3.1.4. Although Manessy's contribution to the *ase*-Ws in *ṚV* cannot be underestimated, her hypothesis that the barytonic *ase*-Ws do not show any infinitival character, goes against the Pāṇinian system which clearly marks out three categories:

(i) Paroxytonic infs in *ase* with the strong grade R-vowel;

(ii) Barytonic infs in *ase(N)* with the strong grade R-vowel; and

(iii) Barytonic infs in *(K)ase(N)* with the reduced grade R-vowel.

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7. T. Burrow, *loc. cit.*
8. J. Manessy, *Les Substantifs en -as- dans la Ṛk-Saṁhitā*, Dakar, 1961, chapitres II-III.

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As will be seen later (Category 2 in § 3.2 *infra*), the barytonic Ws of the type *áyase* play the role of infs in *ṚV*.

3.2. We may now furnish a binary categorisation into which the fifteen Ṛgvedic *ase*-Ws may be conveniently fitted — a categorisation which rests on two assumptions: (i) the place of accent, and (ii) the vowel conditions of the R[9].

Category 1

Ase-Ws having (i) irreducible, (ii) guṇated, (iii) nonguṇated and (iv) altered R-vowels are paroxytonic (initial suffixal accentuation). Examples are:

(i) | 1 *arh-áse* 2 *ṛñj-áse* 3 *rāj-áse* |
(ii) | 4 *doh-áse* 5 *śobh-áse* |
(iii) | 6 *ṛc-áse* > *jīv-áse* 8 *tuj-áse* |
(iv) | 9 *spūrdh-áse* |

Category 2

Ase-Ws having (i) irreducible, (ii) guṇated, (iii) nonguṇated R-vowels are barytonic (radical accentuation). Examples are:

(i) | 10 *áy-ase* 11 *áv-ase* 12 *kṣád-ase* |
(ii) | 13 *bhój-ase* 14 *spár-ase* |
(iii) | 15 * *sríy-ase* |

The Ws listed above under Items 1-5 are made by means of P.'s *ase*, and those under Items 6-8 could be formed with * Kase — a *KP* not taught by P. but which should be innovated — since the exponential marker |K| of (K)*ase* would prohibit guṇa/vṛddhi of R-vowels by the rule, *A* 1,1,5: *K(g)ṅiti ca.* With regard to Item 9, *spūrdháse* (: √spṛdh[10] [?] or *spardh* + *ase*), one has to cudgel one's brain to explain the R-vowel alternation of *spṛdh-* < *spardh* < *spūrdh-* in the light of P.'s morphophonemic procedure. Yet it is listed in Category 1, since it belongs to the paroxytonic class.

All the Ws listed in Category 2 are formed with P.'s *aseN* with the exception of * śríyase which is made by means of *KaseN*, if the accent falls on the initial syllable of the W. The barytonic *śríyase* (probably meant by *K* ad A 3,4,9) is one of the untraced or lost Vedisms (§ 3.4.3 *infra*).

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9. Jacques A. Durr, *Die Zusammensetzung bei den Infinitiven und Gerundien im Rigveda*, « W. Schubring 70th Birth-day Volume », Hamburg, 1951, pp. 11-18.
10. Manessy, *op. cit.*, 196: *spṛdh-* suggère surtout l'idée de compétition.

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3.3. Of these infs, ten Ws listed under Items 1-2, 4-6, 8-9, 12-14 occur only in the *Ṛgvedasaṁhitā* (Table II). The remaining five Ṛgvedic Ws, listed under Items 3,7,10-11 and 15 (Table III) recur in the other *Saṁhitā*-s with the exception of *ávase* and *jīváse* which appear in the other Vedic texts not only in the borrowed Ṛgvedic *Mantra*-s but also in independent citations [11]. The observations made by the Ṛgvedic exegets [12] on these Ws are concisely shown in Tables II and III, while the Ṛgvedic *ase*-Ws recurring in the other Vedic texts are sketched out in the third column of Table III. The Items marked in the first column refer to the *ase*-Ws categorised in § 3.2.

TABLE II

Item	*Derivation*	*ṚV*	*Observations*
1	√arh+ase	10,77,1c	S: pūjārtham. U: pūjayasi VeM: arhaṇārtham *VPK* (*sam*) 434: ase-pratyayaḥ
2	√ṛñj+ase	8,4,17a	S & VeM: prasādhayitum. MANESSY, *op. cit.*, 197: le datif singulier du nom-racine.
4	√duh+ase	6,66,1c	S: dogdhum. SS: dohanārtham
5	√śubh+ase	10,77,1d	S: śobhārtham. VeM: śobhanārtham U: śobhāya na yujyase
6	√ṛc+ase	7,61,6c	S: sevitum. VeM: arcanārtham
8	√tuj+ase	4,23,7b	S: vadhāya. VeM: śatrūṇāṁ hiṁsāyai. MANESSY, *op. cit.*, 200: Quasi-infinitive.
9	√spṛdh-/spardh+ase	5,64,4d	S & VeM: spardhanāya
12	√kṣad(?)+aseN	1,25,17c	See § 3.4.2
13	√bhuj+aseN	1,55,3a	S, SS & M: bhojanāya VeM: bhogāya
		8,51,3d	S: svapālanāya
14	√spṛ+aseN	8,20,8d	S: prītyai ca balanāya ca VeM: pāraṇāya taraṇāya ca

11. VISHVA BANDHU (= VB), *Vaidika-padānukrama-kośa* (= *VPK*) Saṁhitas; *s.v. ávase / jīváse.*

12. Note the following abbreviations: U = Udgītha; M = Mudgala; S = Sāyaṇa; SS = Skanda-Svāmī; VeM = Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava; BVC = BLOOMFIELD, *A Vedic Concordance*[2], Delhi, 1964. For *Sāyaṇa-Bhāṣya*, see *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*, vol.s I-IV, Poona, 1933-46. For other scholiasts, see *Ṛgveda with commentaries*, Ed. VB, Hoshiarpur, 1965, vol.s I-VII.

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TABLE III

Item	*Derivation*	*ṚV & Other Vedic Texts*	*Observations*
3	√rāj+ase	ṚV 8,97,10b = AV 20,54,1b = SVK 1,370; 2,280 = SVJ 1,39,1; 3,23,12 [BVC 956]	S: rājates tum-arthe ase-pratyayaḥ / ātmano virājārtharṁ prakāśanārtham... / VeM: ātmano virājanārtham
7	√jīv+ase	ṚV 1,25,21c = KāṭhaS 21,13d = TB 2,4,2,6c = Mānśs 3,1,29 [BVC 121]	S: « jīva-prāṇadhāraṇe » ity asya tum-arthe ase-pratyayaḥ / pratyayasvaraḥ / SS: jīvayitum / VeM: jīvanāya / M: jīvitum
10	√ay+aseN	ṚV 1,57,3d = AV 20,15,3d	See § 3.4.1
11	√av+aseN	ṚV 1,22,6a = ŚāṅB 26,13	S: rakṣitum... / « tum-arthe se-sen... » ityādinā asen / nitvād ādyudāttaḥ / SS: tarpaṇāya pālanāya vā / M: rakṣitum /
15	√śri+KaseN	ṚV 1,87,6a = TS 2,1,11,2a = 4,2,11,2a = MaiS 4,11,2a = KāṭhaS 8,17a [BVC 939]	See § 3.4.3

3.4.0. Let us now briefly consider the three *ase*-Ws: *áyase* (§ 3.4.1), *kṣádase* (§ 3.4.2) and *śriyase.*

3.4.1. The W *áyase* « to go » occurs in *ṚV* 1,57,3d (= *AV*): *jyótir ákāri harito ná- áyase*: The light (radiance) was made (created for him) to go (to tread the desired path) like mares (to run its course). The exeget S, VeM and M gloss the W with « *gamanāya* », attaching a dative nominal value to the W.

Grassmann [13] considers it an inf., while Sgall [14] regards it as a quasi-inf. However, S *ad ṚV* derives *ayase* from the process: *√ay + asUN* [*Uṇādi* IV: 188] in the action sense. A logical derivation of the W is from: *√ay + aseN* in accord with *A* 3,4,9 so that the barytonesis could be justified in the light of *ñ.nity.ādir nityam* (*A* 6,1,197).

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13. H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*[3], 1955, p. 57: « *ayase* » ist Inf. von *√ay* lat. *aes* Goth. *aiz* eisarn.

14. P. Sgall, *Die Infinitive im Ṛgveda*, « Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philologica », Prague, 1958, No. 2: 182.

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3.4.2. The barytonic *kṣádase* « to partake of or to distribute » occurs in *ṚV* 1,25,17:

sáṁ nú vocāvahai púnar
yáto me mádh ābhṛtam /
hóteva kṣádase priyám //

Glossing the W with « *aśnāsi* », S and other exegets attach a finite verb value to it. Grassmann (*loc. cit.*) too accepts this W as 2 sg. Middle. But, if *priyam* in the Ṛgvedic stanza would be taken as the complement of *kṣadase*, we could make the latter an inf. construction, which is so intimately related to the verbal flexion as to show case-relation [15]. Accordingly we may render *ṚV* 1,25,17 as under:

We want to invoke (him) together again, because honey is brought to me as the Hotṛ (invokes) the dear (honey) in order to distribute it.

3.4.30. The word *śriyase* is made by means of *KaseN* according to *K* and *SK* (Table I). The W is constructed by the following grammatical steps:

√śri-Ñ	+ K-ase-N	.. ..*KaseN* by *A* 3,4,9
= √śri ∅	+ ∅ ase ∅	.. ..*Ñ,N* = ∅ by *A* 1,3,3; 9. *K* is ∅ by *A* 1,3,8; 9
= śr-iy	+ ase	.. ..*iy~i* by *A* 6,4,77
= *śríyase*		.. ..barytonesis by *A* 6,1,197

If the W is formed with *K-ase-N*, it should be barytonised through the force of *A* 6,1,197. But the Veda has preserved only the paroxytone (*śriyáse*). Consequently, we are led to distinguish the barytonic *śríyase* from the paroxytonic *śriyáse.*

3.4.31. Two typical instances for the paroxytonic W drawn from *ṚV* are cited here:

(a) *1,87,6a*: *śriyáse kám bhānúbhiḥ sáṁ mimikṣire* / This line is interpreted by the exegets to mean that « by their radiance (or by the brilliant lustre of sun's rays, the Maruts desire to) pour down rainwaters abundantly to be served (by people, that is to say, the Maruts pour down rain for the welfare of mankind) ». Both S and M gloss *śriyáse* with « *śrayitum prāṇibhiḥ sevitum* », while SS and VeM seem to attach a dative nominal value to it.

15. Manessy, *op. cit.*, 187.

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(b) *5,51,3*: *gávām-iva śriyáse śṛńgam uttamám* (a) / Both S and M, surprisingly enough, gloss *śriyase* with *« śriye dhārayatha »*. However, SS and VeM attach a (dative) nominal value to it. Concomitantly this line (3a) may be rendered as follows:

> [You remain splendid] to be resplendent [with your] highest horn, like [the horn of] cattle[16].

3.4.32. Bhaṭṭoji cites *ṚV* 5,59,3a for illustrating *KaseN*, but he does not offer an explanation for the Vedic paroxytone. The citation given by *K* for illustrating *KaseN* is, in all probability, one of the lost or untraced Vedisms. Haradatta, Jinendra Buddhi (*ad SK* 3436) do not throw any light on the accentuation of *śriyase*. But Jayakṛṣṇa (*Subodhinī* gloss *ad SK* 3436) ventures to put forward the view that, although in the *Mantra* (i.e. *ṚV*) the inf. is a paroxytone, *śriyase* may be justified on the ground of *bāhulaka* (*A* 3,1,85).

3.4.33. S *ad ṚV* 1,87,6a thinks the W is formed with *KaseN*, and Bhaṭṭabhāskara *ad TS* 2,1,11,2 [Mysore edn., vol. III, p. 324] regards the suffix as *ase*. Neither the former explains the Ṛgvedic paroxytonesis nor the latter accounts for the absence of guṇa/vṛddhi of the R-vowel of the Vedic *śriyase*.

3.4.34. VB (*op. cit.*, 3164) assumes the suffix * kase with which the W is formed, in an attempt to justify the paroxytonesis by *A* 3,1,3: *ādy udāttaś ca* and the nonguṇated/nonvṛddhied R-vowel by *A* 1,1,5 (indicated by *KIT*).

3.4.35. Across the diverse explanations given by Pāṇinīya-s and exegets, a probable solution would be to explain *śriyase* as formed with *ase* and account for the absence of guṇa/vṛddhi of the R-vowel by resorting to P.'s tool of *vyatyaya* taught in the rule: *vyatyayo bahulam* [*A* 3,1,85] which, perforce, admits of the operation of *A* 1,1,5.

3.4.36. The magnitude of the task is such that most of the Pāṇinīya-s have refrained from citing an apt illustration for *KaseN*. But I may throw open the hypothesis that P. might have drawn his materials for formulating *KaseN* from a lost Vedic text which, in my opinion, might be closely related to the *Ṛgveda*. Does the author of the *Kāśikā* cite the Vedic tag * *bhágāya śriyase* from this source?

4. Conclusion

4.0. Looking back on the ground covered in this paper, we would be struck by the following considerations.

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16. Cf. K. F. Geldner's translation of *ṚV* 5,59,3a: Wie der Rinder (Horn) ist euer höchstes Horn prächtig zu schauen (*Der Rig-Veda*, HOS, 1951), vol. 34: 66. On *śriyase*, see now M. D. Balasubrahmanyam, *Vedic śriyase and Pāṇini 3,4,9*, in VIJ, vol. X, 1972, pp. 7-10.

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4.1. Across the diversity of syntactic functions of the *ase*-Ws in the *Ṛgvedasaṁhitā* (= *ṚV*), a student of P. and the Veda may discern the coherence of an accentual structure well established in *ṚV*. And from the Pāṇinian point of view, it is possible to show the infinitival character of some fifteen *ase*-Ws in *ṚV*, nine of which are paroxytonic, and the rest belong to the barytonic class.

4.2. Based on the place of accent and the vowel conditions of the R, as warranted by the Pāṇinian system, the fifteen *ase*-Ws may be conveniently fitted into a binary categorisation: the first, comprising paroxytonic Ws with irreducible, strong, weak and altered R-vowels; and, the second, belonging to the barytonic Ws with irreducible, strong, weak R-vowels (§ 3.2).

4.3. According to the Pāṇinian system of accentuation, *ase*-Ws accent the suffix-initial by the rule: (*pratyayaḥ A* 3,1,1; *paraś ca A* 3,1,2) *ādy udāttaś ca* (*A* 3,1,3), and those in *aseN*/*KaseN* are barytonic Ws through the force of the rule: *ñ.n.ity ādir nityam* (*A* 6,1,197).

4.4. A Pāṇinist *cum* Vedist would have expected of P. to posit the *KP* * Kase (after *-kse-*) in *A* 3,4,9 in order that such Ṛgvedic infs as *ṛcáse* and *tujáse* in which the R-vowels appear without guṇa, could be satisfactorily explained.

4.5. P. might have drawn his materials for formulating *KaseN* from a lost Vedic text which would be closely related to *ṚV*.

4.6. P.'s rules of word-formation and accentuation, besides the Space-Time perspective, must occupy an important niche in evaluating Vedic linguistic materials.

SŪTRA REFERENCES

A	*sūtra*
1,1,5	k(g)ṅiti ca
1,3,3	hal.antyam
1,3,8	la.śa.kv ataddhite
1,3,9	tasya lopaḥ
3,1,1	pratyayaḥ
3,1,2	paraś ca
3,1,3	ādy udāttaś ca
3,1,85	vyatyayo bahulam
	tum-arthe se.sen.ase. asen.kse. kasen. adhyai. adhyain. kadhyai. kadhyain-śadhyai. śadhyain. tavai. taveṅ. tavenaḥ
3,4,67	karttari kṛt
6,1,197	ñ.n.ity ādir nityam
6,4,77	aci śnu.dhātu.bhruvāṁ yvor iyaṅ.uvaṅau

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ANDRÉ BAREAU

AYODHYĀ ET MITHILĀ
DANS LES TEXTES CANONIQUES DU BOUDDHISME ANCIEN

Ayodhyā et Mithilā, ces deux villes de l'Inde antique célèbres pour avoir été les capitales respectives des Etats des Kosala et des Videha, où régnaient respectivement Daśaratha et Janaka, pères des deux héros du *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma et Sīta, ne sont pas ignorées des textes canoniques du bouddhisme ancien, plus précisément de ceux qui appartiennent à la classe des sermons ou *sūtra*.

Ayodhyā n'y apparaît que deux fois, et dans des circonstances tellement analogues que l'on est tenté de regarder les deux récits où elle figure comme deux versions d'une même histoire. Dans les deux cas en effet, le Bouddha est assis avec ses moines au bord du cours d'eau qui baigne la ville et, montrant à ses disciples un objet qui flotte, emporté par le courant, il tire de cette vision un enseignement concernant la nature illusoire, dépourvue de substance, de la personne humaine, ou les tribulations qu'elle subit à travers les existences successives. L'objet flottant en question est un petit tas d'écume dans le *Phenasutta*[1], un morceau de bois dans le *Dārukkhandha-sutta*[2]. Le premier de ces deux *sutta* nous est parvenu dans sa version pālie et dans trois versions chinoises appartenant à des sectes différentes. Le second nous a été transmis dans sa version pālie et dans une seule version chinoise, mais la même scène est placée ailleurs, à Kimbilā, dans un autre *sutta* pāli portant le même titre et au pays des Magadha dans un autre texte en traduction chinoise[3].

Ayodhyā étant l'une des principales villes saintes des brahmanistes depuis l'Antiquité, sa position géographique est bien connue: elle se trouve à 150 km au nord d'Allahabad, tout près et à l'est de Faizabad,

1. *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, édition de la Pali Text Society (= P.T.S.) vol. III, p. 140; *Saṃyukta-āgama*, édition de Taishô Issaikyô (= T.I.) n. 99, p. 68b; n. 105, p. 501a; n. 106, p. 501c.
2. *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, P.T.S. vol. IV, p. 179; *Saṃyukta-āgama*, T.I. n. 99, p. 314c.
3. *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, P.T.S. vol. IV, p. 181; *Ekottara-āgama*, T.I. n. 125, p. 758c.

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sur la rive droite de la Gogra, anciennement nommée Sarayū, l'un des principaux affluents du Gange. Or, les deux *sūtra* mentionnés ci-dessus, dans toutes leurs versions, aussi bien chinoises que pālie, appellent Gaṅgā, c'est-à-dire Gange, le cours d'eau au bord duquel le Bouddha et ses disciples sont assis, et ce fait a troublé quelque peu les historiens modernes du bouddhisme [4]. En fait, cette petite difficulté est aisément résolue quand on se souvient que le mot *gaṅgā* peut être employé, non seulement pour nommer le grand fleuve qui arrose Allahabad, Bénarès et Patna, mais aussi comme nom commun pour désigner l'un ou l'autre de ses principaux affluents, dont la largeur est analogue à la sienne. C'est justement le cas de la Gogra en face d'Ayodhyā, et l'on comprend alors que cette large rivière ait pu être appelée *gaṅgā* par les anciens auteurs bouddhistes, comme elle le fut du reste, plusieurs siècles plus tard, par le grand voyageur chinois Hiuan-tsang [5].

On est surpris du peu de place tenue par cette ville, si célèbre par ailleurs, dans les anciens textes bouddhiques, puisqu'elle n'a inspiré à leurs auteurs que deux *sūtra* assez courts et ne traitant que des sujets doctrinaux très rebattus. En outre, ce n'est aucunement la gloire de l'antique cité d'Ayodhyā qui les a conduits à choisir celle-ci comme lieu de cette double prédication, mais seulement sa situation au bord de l'un des principaux affluents du Gange, encore cette raison est-elle si peu déterminante que le second sermon est aussi placé en deux endroits différents et très éloignés de cette ville par deux de ses versions. S'il n'est certes pas impossible que le Bouddha ait fait halte en ce lieu et y ait adressé à ses disciples ces deux sermons, rien ne nous oblige pourtant à croire fermement que ces deux *sūtra* racontent fidèlement des faits historiques, et nous sommes plutôt porté à penser qu'ils sont tous deux les purs produits de l'imagination de moines vivant un ou deux siècles après le Parinirvāṇa. Le *Phena-sutta*, dont les quatre versions, une pālie et trois chinoises, s'accordent toutes sur la localisation à Ayodhyā comme sur l'essentiel de la prédication, est sans doute plus ancien que l'autre et sa version primitive, dont dérivent les quatre qui nous en ont été conservées, peut dater de la fin du quatrième siècle avant notre ère.

L'histoire de Rāma, qui a donné son thème à la fameuse épopée du *Rāmāyaṇa*, est contée aussi dans les *Jātaka*, ces légendes des vies antérieures du Bouddha, en version chinoise comme en version pālie [6]. Ce-

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4. G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, London, 1960, vol. I, p. 165; E. J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History*, London, 1949, p. 15; B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris, 1954, pp. 67-68.

5. *Ta t'ang si yu ki*, T.I. n. 2087, p. 896b; *Ta t'ang kou san tsang hiuan tsang fa che hing tchouang*, T.I. n. 2052, p. 215c; Th. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, London, 1904, vol. I, p. 354.

6. *Dasaratha Jātaka*, *Jātaka* n. 461, P.T.S. vol. IV, p. 123; Ed. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues tirés du Tripiṭaka chinois*, Paris, 1910-1935, rééd. 1962, t. III, p. 1; t. IV, p. 197.

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pendant, ces dernières contiennent des différences assez importantes par rapport à l'épopée sanskrite. En particulier, Ayodhyā n'y est pas nommée, le roi Daśaratha régnant à Bénarès dans le récit en pāli et, plus vaguement, sur le Jambudvīpa ou continent méridional dans la traduction chinoise.

Il apparaît donc clairement que, pour les anciens bouddhistes auxquels on doit la composition des textes canoniques des diverses écoles antiques, la cité d'Ayodhyā n'était qu'une bourgade sans importance. Cela est confirmé par le fait qu'elle ne figure jamais sur les listes des grandes villes de l'Inde que nous donnent assez souvent les *Sūtra-piṭaka* et les *Vinaya-piṭaka* émanant des sectes les plus diverses [7]. Il semble même bien que les versions de la légende de Rāma dont les anciens bouddhistes ont eu connaissance n'établissaient aucune relation entre ce héros et la ville d'Ayodhyā. Tout cela est d'autant plus troublant que ces bouddhistes des premiers siècles connaissaient fort bien le royaume des Kosala, celui-là même auquel le *Rāmāyaṇa* donne Ayodhyā pour capitale. Au temps du Bouddha, c'est Śrāvastī, dont les imposants vestiges ont été retrouvés au village de Maheth, à 80 km au nord d'Ayodhyā, qui était la capitale des Kosala. Le roi Prasenajit, grand ami du Bienheureux, y résidait et cette ville, l'une des principales cités du bassin du Gange à cette époque, centre de l'un des deux plus puissants Etats de cette région, était le séjour préféré du Bouddha. En tant que capitale des Kosala, elle avait remplacé depuis peu la ville de Sāketa, bien connue, elle aussi, des auteurs bouddhistes et qui était située, très probablement, aux environs d'Ayodhyā, si près même de cette dernière qu'on a pu se demander si ces deux cités n'en faisaient pas qu'une seule ayant porté, successivement ou non, ces deux noms, ou si l'une d'elles n'était pas une partie de l'autre [8]. Ces deux hypothèses pourraient certes fort bien expliquer l'ignorance presque totale et si surprenante des auteurs bouddhistes en ce qui regarde Ayodhyā, la ville étant désignée le plus souvent par eux sous son autre nom de Sāketa. Cependant, il semble qu'ils distinguaient assez nettement les deux agglomérations, ce qui laisse à entendre soit que Sāketa était distante d'Ayodhyā, soit que cette dernière n'était plus, vers l'époque des Maurya, qu'un quartier de la première.

Mithilā, capitale du pays des Videha, où avait régné Janaka, le père de Sītā salon le *Rāmāyaṇa*, est beaucoup mieux connue des anciens textes bouddhiques. Elle était cependant située, pour autant que nous le sachions, dans une région bien plus éloignée qu'Ayodhyā des grands centres urbains fréquentés par le Bouddha et par ses disciples des premières générations, comme Śrāvastī, Rājagṛha, Vaiśālī et Kauśāmbī. On s'accorde en effet à la placer là où se trouve aujourd'hui la bourgade de

7. Seule, l'une des six versions du *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, T.I. n. 7, p. 200c, nomme Ayodhyā parmi les grandes cités de l'Inde où le Bouddha aurait pu entrer en *parinirvāṇa*, mais elle ne mentionne pas Sāketa à cette occasion.

8. Voir les références de la note 4 ci-dessus.

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Janakpur, en territoire népalais mais tout près de la frontière indienne, à 140 km au nord-nord-est de Patna et 120 km au nord-est de Vaiśālī [9], alors qu'Ayodhyā était, nous l'avons vu, très proche de Sāketa et par conséquent de la grande route menant de Śrāvastī à Kauśāmbī. Il est vrai que les princes qui y avaient fixé leur capitale étaient, au temps du Bouddha, jugés assez puissants par ceux des pays voisins pour nouer avec eux des alliances matrimoniales. En particulier, Bimbisāra, roi des Magadha et grand ami du Bienheureux, avait épousé une de leurs filles, qui devint la mère de son successeur Ajātaśatru, lequel fut pour cela surnommé Vaidehīputra, c'est-à-dire « fils de la (princesse) des Videha » [10]. A cette époque, Mithilā, connue par toutes les sources bouddhiques anciennes comme étant la capitale de ce dernier peuple, était donc une ville dont l'importance politique répondait à la prospérité économique, mais, comme nous le verrons plus loin, cette situation se détériora très vite par la suite.

Deux *sūtra* seulement localisent à Mithilā des événements de la vie du Bouddha, mais ils ont un caractère très différent de celui des deux textes canoniques dont l'action est située à Ayodhyā. Selon le *Makhādeva-sutta* [11], le Bienheureux séjournait dans le bois de manguiers (*āmravana*, pâli *ambavana*) de Mahādeva (Makhādeva en pāli), à l'est de la ville précise l'*Ekottara-āgama* en traduction chinoise, quand, à un certain endroit de sa promenade, il sourit. Aussitôt, son fidèle disciple Ānanda, qui l'accompagnait, lui en demanda la raison. Le Bienheureux lui raconta alors l'histoire d'un roi nommé Mahādeva (Makhādeva dans la version pālie) qui avait régné à Mithilā dans un passé fabuleusement éloigné et qui avait renoncé au monde le jour où il avait découvert ses premiers cheveux blancs. S'étant retiré dans ce bois de manguiers, lequel portait son nom depuis lors, Mahādeva avait assidûment pratiqué les quatre méditations appelées *brahma-vihāra*, qui servent à développer la bonté (*maitrī*), la compassion (*karuṇā*), la joie de sympathie (*muditā*) et l'indifférence (*upekṣā*) envers les louanges et les blâmes injustifiés. Ces exercices ascétiques avaient pleinement réussi puisque le roi était renè, après sa mort, parmi les dieux du monde de Brahma. Ses quatre-vingt-quatre mille descendants, qui lui avaient tous succédé sur le trône de Mithilā, avaient agi de même en suivant ses sages conseils, et le dernier d'entre eux, le roi Nimi, avait obtenu, durant sa vie terrestre, le privilège de visiter le paradis des dieux Trayastriṃśas, où l'avait invité le souverain de ceux-ci, Śakra Devanāmindra. Cette légende est aussi racontée par le *Makhādeva-jātaka* [12] et par le *Nimi-jātaka* [13].

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9. Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 635; Law, *op. cit.*, p. 236.
10. Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 923.
11. *Majjhima-nikāya*, P.T.S. vol. II, p. 74; *Madhyama-āgama*, T.I. n. 26, p. 511c; *Ekottara-āgama*, T.I. n. 125, p. 806c.
12. *Jātaka* n. 9, P.T.S. vol. I, p. 137.
13. *Jātaka* n. 541, P.T.S. vol. VI, p. 95.

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C'est un récit bien différent que contient le *Brahmāyu-sutta*[14]. Dans celui-ci en effet, un brahmane de Mithilā, nommé Brahmāyu, très vieux et très savant, apprend qu'un homme extraordinaire voyage dans le pays des Videha, un homme qui, d'après la rumeur publique, serait un bouddha. Méfiant, Brahmāyu, envoie son disciple Uttara s'assurer de ce que le corps de cet homme porte bien les trente-deux signes du Grand Homme (*mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇa*). Uttara se rend aussitôt à l'endroit où a fait halte le mystérieux voyageur, lequel n'est autre que le Bienheureux, et là, mêlé à la foule venue accueillir et écouter celui-ci, il constate que le corps de cet homme est effectivement orné des trente-deux signes. Pour plus de prudence, Uttara suit le Bouddha pendant sept mois dans ses déplacements en observant son comportement avec attention, puis il revient auprès de son maître l'informer des résultats positifs de sa longue et minutieuse enquête. Brahmāyu est alors convaincu de ce que la réputation de l'extraordinaire ascète errant n'est nullement usurpée et, tout joyeux, il chante les louanges de celui-ci. Peu après, le Bienheureux arrive à Mithilā et s'arrête dans le bois de manguiers de Mahādeva. Aussitôt, le vieux brahmane Brahmāyu vient lui rendre visite et il l'interroge pour dissiper ses derniers doutes. Dès qu'il a enfin acquis la certitude de se trouver en présence du Bouddha, il se prosterne aux pieds de celui-ci et l'invite à venir déjeuner chez lui pendant une semaine avec les moines qui l'accompagnent. Lorsque, un peu plus tard, Brahmāyu meurt, le Bienheureux annonce à ses disciples que le sage brahmane est devenu un saint *anāgāmin*, qui ne renaîtra plus jamais parmi les hommes et qui atteindra prochainement la béatitude éternelle du *parinirvāṇa*.

Ces deux récits sont évidemment légendaires: l'un sert d'introduction à un *Jātaka* et l'autre a pour but évident de glorifier le Bouddha en confirmant la présence des trente-deux signes du Grand Homme sur son corps. Les différentes version, pālies et chinoises, de ces deux *sūtra* concordant entre elles sur tous les éléments importants, on est en droit de supposer que les versions primitives dont elles proviennent sont antérieures au règne d'Aśoka, peut-être même au début du IIIe siècle avant notre ère. Cela montre qu'à cette époque Mithilā avait assez attiré l'attention des bouddhistes pour que certains d'entre eux aient jugé bon d'y localiser ces deux récits. Sans doute cette ville recevait-elle alors parfois la visite de moines qui séjournaient plus ou moins longtemps dans le bois de manguiers de Mahādeva, lequel était probablement, comme le suggère son nom, l'un de ces bois sacrés (*caitya*) nombreux dans l'Inde antique.

Mithilā est encore mentionnée ailleurs dans les textes canoniques, bien plus souvent donc qu'Ayodhyā, mais c'est toujours dans le récit d'une légende. On ne compte en effet pas moins de quinze *Jātaka* en

14 *Majjhima-nikāya*, P.T.S. vo. II, p. 133; *Madhyama-āgama*, T.I. n. 26, p. 685a; n. 76, p. 883b.

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pāli dont l'un des personnages principaux est roi des Videha, régnant à Mithilā, et dont, par conséquent, tout ou partie de l'action se passe dans cette ville [15]. Cette dernière est même celle qui se trouve le plus fréquemment nommée et utilisée de cette manière parmi toutes les cités indiennes, à la seule exception de Bénarès où est localisé l'action de plus de quatre-vingt-dix pour cent des *Jātaka* en version pālie. Mithilā devance nettement ici toutes les grandes villes où le Bouddha et ses principaux disciples séjournèrent si souvent, comme Śrāvastī, Rājagṛha, Vaiśālī, Kauśāmbī.

La proportion semble à peu près la même dans le *Mahāvastu*. Si aucun des *Jātaka* pālis dont le récit est situé à Mithilā n'est conté dans cet ouvrage, ce qui rend la comparaison assez difficile, le *Mahāvastu* place dans cette ville quatre légendes du même type. Deux d'entre elles, celles de Vijitāvin et des princes Candra et Sūrya, sont ignorées de la tradition theravādin [16], et les deux autres, celles d'Amarā et d'Arindama, sont localisées ailleurs dans leurs versions pālies [17]. Le *Mahāvastu* s'accorde encore sur deux points avec la tradition theravādin: il situe à Mithilā l'un des quatre Grands Trésors enfouis dans la terre et gardés par des Nāga [18], et, dans la description de l'empire indien gouverné par le mythique roi Reṇu, il fait de la capitale des Videha celle de l'une des sept vastes provinces qui le composent [19].

On ne retrouve pas le même accord dans les versions chinoises des *Jātaka* et des autres légendes analysés par Edouard Chavannes dans ses *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois*. Mithilā n'y est nommée que deux fois, à propos des *Jātaka* de Mahādeva et de Nimi [20], et le pays des Videha sept fois [21], dont deux au moins pour des détails fort secondaires du récit. Deux seulement des quinze *Jātaka* pālis dont l'action se déroule à Mithilā, à savoir ceux des rois Makhādeva et Nimi, ont leurs parallèles dans ces cinq cents contes bouddhiques conservés en traduction chinoise [22]. Parmi ceux de ces derniers dont le récit est localisé chez les Videha, deux autres seulement ont des parallèles en pâli, à savoir le *Mātuposaka-jātaka* [23] et le *Chaddanta-jātaka* [24], mais les versions theravādin de ceux-ci sont situées ailleurs.

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15. *Jātaka* n. 9, 52, 110, 111, 112, 160, 192, 264, 406, 489, 494, 539, 541, 544 et 546.
16. *Mahāvastu*, édition E. Senart, Paris, 1882-1897, vol. III, p. 41; vol. III, p. 172.
17. *Mahāvastu*, vol. II, p. 83; vol. III, p. 449; *Mahāummagga-jātaka*, *Jātaka* n. 546, P.T.S. vol. VI, pp. 364-372; *Soṇaka-jātaka*, *Jātaka* n. 529, P.T.S. vol. V, pp. 247-261.
18. *Mahāvastu*, vol. III, p. 383.
19. *Mahāvastu*, vol. III, p. 209; *Mahāgovinda-sutta*, *Dīgha-nikāya*, P.T.S. vol. II, p. 235.
20. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 321 (Wou-yi = Mithilā); vol. I, p. 182 (Mo-t'ien-lo = Mithilā); vol. IV, pp. 136 et 116.
21. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 13, 14, 29, 91 et 98; vol. IV, pp. 101 et 215.
22. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 321 et vol. IV, p. 136.
23. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 13 et vol. IV, p. 205; *Mātuposaka-jātaka*, *Jātaka* n. 455, P.T.S. vol. IV, p. 90. L'action de la version pālie est située dans l'Himālāya et à Bénarès.
24. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 101; *Chaddanta-jātaka*, *Jātaka* n. 514, P.T.S. vol. V, p. 36. L'action de la version pālie est située dans l'Himālāya et à Bénarès.

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Cependant, le roi Janaka, dont le *Rāmāyaṇa* fait le beau-père de Rāma, est inconnu à la fois du *Mahāvastu* et des contes bouddhiques en version chinoise. Si les Theravādin l'ont choisi, eux, comme héros de deux de leurs *Jātaka*[25], qui portent du reste son nom, il n'y est aucunement mis en relations avec Rāma ni Sītā, mais avec des personnages totalement étrangers à la célèbre épopée. De même, le *Daśaratha-jātaka*[26] pāli, qui raconte, non sans variantes souvent importantes et en le résumant beaucoup, l'essentiel du *Rāmāyaṇa* et qui n'a pas de parallèle dans le *Mahāvastu*, ignore le roi Janaka. Il fait de Sītā la fille de Daśaratha et par conséquent la sœur de Rāma et de Lakṣmaṇa, tous ces personnages appartenant à la famille royale des Kāśi et habitant Bénarès, mais non pas à celle des Kosala dont la capitale était Ayodhyā dans l'épopée.

De tout cela, il ressort assez clairement que le Bouddha ni aucun de ses disciples directs ne sont jamais venus à Mithilā et qu'ils n'ont sans doute même jamais traversé le pays des Videha, sauf peut-être dans sa partie la plus occidentale, celle qui était voisine du pays des Vṛji où le Bienheureux séjourna souvent. En tout cas, la tradition la plus ancienne n'avait conservé aucun souvenir de leur présence en cette région ni dans sa capitale.

Quand furent composées les versions originelles du *Makhādeva-sutta* et du *Brahmāyu-sutta*, vers le début du IIIe siècle avant notre ère semble-t-il, Mithilā n'était plus depuis assez longtemps qu'une ville bien déchue de son importance passée, perdue dans une région éloignée de celles que parcouraient habituellement les moines bouddhistes de cette époque. Sa position excentrique par rapport à celles-ci est du reste confirmée par la tradition à laquelle nous avons fait allusion plus haut et qui situe à Mithilā, à Takṣaśilā, au Kaliṅga et à Bénarès, ville sainte du brahmanisme dans laquelle le bouddhisme ancien ne put pénétrer, les quatre Grands Trésors (*mahā-nidhi*) gardés par les Nāga.

Pourtant, le souvenir de l'antique grandeur de Mithilā ne s'était pas perdu, car il subsistait tout un cycle de légendes glorifiant la puissance et la vertu des anciens souverains des Videha, légendes dont plusieurs, nous l'avons vu, furent utilisées par les auteurs bouddhistes des trois derniers siècles avant notre ère pour composer des *Jātaka*.

Ainsi, la connaissance que les anciens bouddhistes ont eue de l'histoire qui a servi de thème central au *Rāmāyaṇa* est-elle assez étrange. Ils n'ont pas ignoré cette légende ni les noms de ses principaux personnages, Daśaratha, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata et Sītā, ni les rapports existant entre ceux-ci, à cette différence près qu'ils ont fait de Sītā la fille de Daśaratha, donc la sœur et non l'épouse de Rāma. Cependant, ils ont déplacé l'action d'Ayodyhā à Bénarès, où régnait selon eux Daśa-

25. *Mahā-janaka-jātaka*, *Jātaka* n. 539, P.T.S. vol. VI, p. 19; *Cūḷa-janaka-jātaka*, *Jātaka* n. 52, P.T.S. vol. I, p. 268.

26. *Dasaratha-jātaka*, *Jātaka* n. 461, P.T.S. vol. IV, p. 123.

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ratha, et leur récit ne mentionne ni les Videha, ni leur capitale Mithilā ni leur roi Janaka. Si le silence concernant ces trois noms se comprend aisément puisque, dans leur version, Sītā est la fille de Daśaratha, la raison pour laquelle ils font résider ce dernier roi à Bénarès, capitale des Kāśi, plutôt qu'à Ayodhyā, chez les Kosala pourtant si dévots envers le Bouddha, demeure obscure. Peut-être ne faut-il pas la chercher ailleurs que dans l'attirance extrême que Bénarès exerça de toute évidence sur les auteurs des *Jātaka*, et tout paritculièrement des *Jātaka* pālis, attirance d'autant plus surprenante que cette ville fut, de toutes les grandes cités de l'Inde gangétique, la seule qui demeura fermée à la prédication bouddhique.

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HEINZ BECHERT *

ON THE NĪTIŚĀSTRAVINIŚCAYA, A SUBHĀṢITASAṂGRAHA FROM SRI LANKA

1. The Sanskrit *subhāṣita* literature of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) has been described and analysed by Prof. Sternbach in three important contributions [1]. In these studies, the Ceylonese versions of the *Cāṇakyaśataka*, the *Vyāsakāra*, the *Pratyayaśataka* and some other less known compilations of *subhāṣitas* in Sanskrit as found in Ceylonese tradition are dealt with. My present contribution is meant as a small supplement to these works of Prof. Sternbach, providing information on the *Nītiśāstraviniścaya*, a so far unknown and unpublished collection of *subhāṣitas* which I have come across in Sri Lanka.

2. The *Nītiśāstraviniścaya* is a small Sanskrit work of 89 *ślokas*. Notwithstanding an extensive search for other manuscripts of the text, I was not able to trace more than one palm-leaf manuscript of it. This manuscript is written in Sinhala script and preserved in the Colombo Museum Library. It has been described by W. A. de Silva [2]. The manuscript was copied in 1902 A.D. from a manuscript in the Janānanda Galvihāra at Maradankaḍavala in Kalāgam palāta, Anurādhapura. This original manuscript is, however, not listed in K. D. Somadāsa's catalogue [3]. Other manuscripts with similar titles belonging to temple libraries in Sri Lanka and listed in Somadāsa's catalogue do not contain this text as far as I could ascertain during a visit to most of these temples in 1974. Vol. 2 of Somadāsa's *nāmāvaliya* contains a

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* Göttingen.

1. Ludwik Sternbach, *The Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms over « Greater India »*, Calcutta, 1969, §§ 39-44; *On the Sanskrit Nīti Literature of Ceylon*, ALB 31/32, 1967/68, pp. 636-663; 34, 1969, pp. 80-116; 35, 1971, pp. 258-269; *Sur la littérature didactique et gnomique laïque d'origine sanscrite à Ceylan*, JA 260, 1972, pp. 79-87.

2. W. A. de Silva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum*, Colombo, 1938 (Memoirs of the Colombo Museum, Series A, No. 4), p. 361, text 2256.

3. K. D. Somadāsa, *Laṅkāvē puskoḷa pot nāmāvaliya* I-II, Colombo, 1959-1964.

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cross-reference from *Nītiśāstraviniścaya* to *Pathyavākya*, but *Pathyavākya* is a quite different work which consists of 263 aphorisms in Sanskrit prose. This *Pathyavākya* was printed in Colombo in 1881[4]. A copy of this rare book is found in the library of the Südasien-Institut of the University of Heidelberg[5]. It originally belonged to Wilhelm Geiger. I have also been able to trace some manuscripts of *Pathyavākya* in temple libraries of Sri Lanka and in two Western libraries. One of these manucripts belongs to the Historical Museum in Bern (Switzerland). It is listed by C. Regamey under the title « Nītiśāstraya », but without further identfication of the text[6]. The British Library too has a manuscript of *Pathyavākyaya*. It is catalogued as Or 6611(168) under the title Nītiśāstra. It begins with stanza 1 of the *Nītiśāstraviniścaya*, but this stanza is immediately followed by « namas sarvavidoḥ » (ms. -eḥ) and the text of *Pathyavākyaya*. It seems that its scribe or the scribe of the underlying source has somehow confused the two texts.

3. The *Nītiśāstraviniścaya* manuscript of the Colombo Museum Library contains the Sanskrit text of the work only without a Sinhala sannaya. This is quite unusual, because Sinhala manuscripts of such works generally provide the Sanskrit text together with its Sinhala translation. A copy of the manuscript was made for me by Pandit K. D. L. Wickramaratne who is one of the best experts in reading Sinhala handwriting. This copy is written in modern Sinhala script and it is now deposited in the manuscript collecton of the Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde of the University of Göttingen. Though the script is clearly readable, the Sanskrit text in the manuscript is very corrupt so that the preparation of a reliable edition of our work is not possible on the basis of the now available material. However, with the help of the works of L. Sternbach, it was possible to trace parallels or at least simile stanzas for all but four of the eight-nine stanzas and thus gain an idea of the contents of the *Nītiśāstraviniścaya*.

4. We cannot determine the author and the date of the *Nītiśāstraviniścaya*. There are no references to this work in any other Ceylonese sources known to me. The corrupt state of the text, however, points to a rather long history of the work. Generally, compilations of the 18th or 19th century would not be handed down in such a corrupt way in Ceylonese manuscripts. Moreover, we are rather well informed about the literary activities of Ceylonese authors in the 18th and 19th cen-

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4. *Pathyavākyaya hevat Nītiśāstraya, Pathya-vākya or Nīti-śāstra, Moral Maxims extracted...*, published by A. D. A. Wijayasinha, Colombo, 1881.

5. Call no. L. I 5006.

6. C. Regamey, *Manuscrits sur feuilles de palmier: Les manuscrits indiens et indochinois de la section ethnographique du Musée historique de Berne*, « Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums in Bern », Ethnographische Abteilung 28, 1948, p. 54, no. 31.

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turies so that we may draw our conclusions ex silentio in this case. Further conclusions may be drawn from an evaluation of the parallels only.

5. On the following pages, I have listed the pratīkas of the stanzas of the *Nītiśāstraviniścaya* along with information on the parallels. For the references to the parallel versions I use the system of Prof. Sternbach and I refer readers in particular to the volumes of Cāṇakya-Nīti Text-Tradition. I have not repeated the large number of parallels listed there, because the compiler of the *Nītiśāstraviniścaya* has not directly drawn from works like *Hitopadeśa*, *Śukasaptati*, *Pañcatantra* etc., but from collections of *subhāṣitas*. Moreover, all these parallels can easily be found in Prof. Sternbach's works. For my references I have used the following abbreviations:

CNSap = *Cāṇakya-Saptati*, ed. with critical introduction by K. V. Sharma, Hoshiarpur 1965 (Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, 32).

Cr = Ludwik Sternbach, *Cāṇakya-Nīti-Text-Tradition*, vol. II, Part 2 and 3, Hoshiarpur 1967-1968 (Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, 29).

Cv, CV, CS used as in Cr.

Dhn = *Dhammanīti*, in: H. Bechert and H. Braun, *Pāli Nīti Texts of Burma*, London (Pali Text Society, to appear shortly; contains *Dhammanīti*, *Lokanīti*, *Mahārahanīti* and *Rājanīti*).

IS = Otto Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, 3 Bde., St. Petersburg 1870-1873.

Ln = *Lokanīti* (edition see above, s.v. Dhn).

Mhn = *Mahārahanīti* (edition see above, s.v. Dhn).

MSS = Ludwik Sternbach, *Mahā-Subhāṣita-Saṃgrahaḥ*, vol. I-III, Delhi 1974-1977 (Vishveshvaranand Indological Series 64, 69, 71).

Nśv = *Nītiśāstraviniścaya* (our text).

Prś = *Pratyayaśataka* (vulgata as represented in many Sinhala printed editions; cf. L. Sternbach in « Brahmavidyā », vol. 34, pp. 80 ff. as quoted above, § 1).

Rn = *Rājanīti pāli* (edition see above, s.v. Dhn).

Shn = *Sīhalanīti* (cf. H. Bechert, *Sīhalanīti: Ein ceylonesisches Sanskrit-Werk in birmanischer Tradition*, Mélanges Étienne Lamotte, Louvain, in the press).

Vyās = *Vyāsa-subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, crit. ed. by Ludwik Sternbach, Varanasi 1969 (Kashi Sanskrit Series 193).

6. Introductory stanzas: The three introductory stanzas can be reconstructed on the basis of the available material:

1. *praṇamya śirasā devaṃ trailokyādhipasaṃstutam /*
   nānāśāstrebhyas saṃgṛhya nītiśāstraviniścayam //
2. *adhītyaikam idaṃ śāstraṃ naro jñāsyati tattvataḥ /*
   nayaṃ jñātvā vibhāgena kāryākāryaśubhāśubham //
3. *tad ahaṃ sampravakṣyāmi narānāṃ buddhi[kāraṇam /*
   labhate] sarvataḥ kīrtim parāṃ sarvatragāminīm //

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Ms. readings: 1a: so in introductory stanza of ms. Or. 6611(168), cf. above § 2; *-saṃsatu*; 1c: *-śāstrehi.* — 2a: *ādityekam idaṃ*; b: *jñasyati*; c: *jñatvā.* — 3a: *-vakṣāmi*; *buddhi sarvataḥ* (i.e. *kāraṇam labhate* wanting in ms.; reconstructed from CNSap and Shn).

Parallels: 1: See CNSap 1; cf. also Cr 686 (initial stanza in CV, Cv, CS) and Shn 1. — 2: See CNSap 2; cf. also Cr 43 (second stanza in CV, Cv, CS) and Shn 2. — 3: See CNSap 3, Shn 3; cf. also Cr 406 (third stanza in CV, Cv, CS) and Cr 405.

7. Survey of the other stanzas. For the reasons mentioned above, I reproduce the initial *pāda* of the stanzas only. Stanzas with substantial corrections against the manuscript reading in the reproduced text are denoted by *. Where a reliable reconstruction of the first pāda seemed impossible, ✠ is used. Square brackets indicate passages missing in the manuscript. Parallels are listed in brackets, but many of these parallels show considerable textual variations from the text as found in Nśv. « Cf. » points to stanzas which are not identical but show enough similarities to prove that they are of the same origin.

4. *apavādo bhaved yena...* (cf. MSS 1950 and 2718, IS 406 from *Pañcatantra*).
5. **[pratyakṣe gu]ravaḥ stutyāḥ...* (Cr 687, IS 4238, Shn 9, Dhn 217).
6. *bahavo na viroddhavyā...* (Cr 1731, IS 4418, Prś 37).
7. *pṛṣṭhato 'rkaṃ niṣeveta...* (Cr 4188, IS 4188 from *Hitopadeśa*, Dhn 91, Ln 124, Mhn 193).
8. *yasya padmanibhaṃ vaktraṃ...* (stanza incomplete in ms.; cf. Prś 57, Dhn 111, Ln 88; for ab cf. also Cr 776, IS 4882, Shn 94; for cd cf. Cr 467, IS 2852).
9. *evaṃ halāhalaṃ kāryaṃ...* (continuation of stanza 8; no exact parallel traced; for cd cf. the evidently incomplete stanza Dhn 111, Ln 88; cf. also below, Nśv 60).
10. ✠ *upāyena hi hantavyā* ... (untraced).
11. *bahavo yatra netāraḥ* ... (Cr 1732, IS 4419, Ln 122, Mhn 178).
12. *kecin mṛgamukhā vyāghrāḥ* ... (cf. Cr 301).
13. *calaty ekena pādena* ... (Cr 365, IS 2264, Shn 46, Dhn 86, Ln 159, Mhn 77).
14. *kṛte tu pratikartavyaṃ* ... (Cr 296, IS 1874 from *Pañcatantra*).
15. **yasya putro vaśe bhakto* ... (Cr 835, CNSap 5, IS 5382, Shn 85).
16. *sa bandhur yo hite yuktaḥ* ... (CNSap 6, Shn 5, Dhn 188, Ln 83, Mhn 144; for ab: Cr 1043, IS 6836; for bcd: Cr 426, IS 2611).
17. **duṣṭā bhāryā śaṭhaṃ mitraṃ* ... (Cr 477, CNSap 7, IS 2891, Shn 7, Dhn 182, Ln 126).
18. *paradāraṃ parasvañ ca* ... (Cr 641, IS 3925, Prś 84).
19. *uttam[aṃ] praṇipātena* ... (Cr 166, IS 1174, Dhn 226, Ln 60, Mhn 149).

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20. **ahitāt pratiṣedhaś ca* ... (Dhn 97, Mhn 142, Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* 4.64; cf. MSS 4100 and 4103).
21. *śṛṅginaṃ pañcahastena* ... (Dhn 216, Ln 90, Mhn 75; cf. Cr 973 with v.l., IS 6341, Shn 60).
22. **āpadarthe dhanaṃ rakṣed* ... (Cr 142, CNSap 8, IS 958).
23. **agniṃ stokam ivātmānaṃ* ... (MSS 193, IS 61 from *Mahābārata*).
24. **aśaṭho yas tv analasaḥ* ... (cf. Dhn 96, Mhn 146; for c cf. also Cr 694, IS 4274).
25. *kṣaṇam ekaḥ sukhair vāpi* ... (untraced).
26. ✠ *daṃśas tīkṣṇanipāte* ... (untraced).
27. **agnir āpaḥ striyo mūrkhaḥ* ... (Cr 6, MSS 200, IS 64, Prś 42, Shn 69, Dhn 212, Ln 125, Mhn 204).
28. *raṇāt pratyāgataṃ śūraṃ* ... (Cr 396, IS 2424, Dhn 363, Ln 99, Mhn 184).
29. *mūrkhaśiṣyopadeśena* ... (Cr 779, CNSap 4, IS 4911, Shn 4, Dhn 120, Ln 127, Mhn 119).
30. *tyajed ekaṃ kulasyārthe* ... (Cr 431, CNSap 9, IS 2627, Shn 14, Dhn 208, Ln 156, Mhn 76).
31. *nadīnāṃ ca nakhināṃ ca* ... (Cr 527, CNSap 12, IS 3214).
32. *lubdham arthena* [*gṛhṇīyāt*] ... (Cr 890, CNSap 10, IS 5860, Dhn 101, Ln 78, Mhn 148).
33. **arthanāśam manastāpaṃ* ... (Cr 87, CNSap 13, MSS 2920, IS 583, Shn 18, Dhn 55, Ln 28, Mhn 57).
34. *yasya yasya hi yo bhāvas* ... (Cr 840, CNSap 11, IS 5393, Shn 41, Mhn 150).
35. *yasmin karye kṛte siddhe* ... (Cr 1836, CNSap 20).
36. *bhojyaṃ bhojanaśaktiś ca* ... (Cr 746, CNSap 21, IS 4620, Shn 10).
37. *vārayet kulajāṃ prajño* ... (Cr 914, CNSap 23, IS 5982, Prś 87, Dhn 156, Mhn 215).
38. *sakṛdduṣṭaṃ tu yan mitraṃ* ... (Cr 1024, CNSap 25, IS 3656, Ln 85).
39. **yo yenecchati sambandham* ... (Dhn 236 and Mhn 151: *yena-m-icchati sambandhaṃ...*; Cr 816, IS 5246: *yadīcchec chāśvatīṃ prītiṃ...*).
40. **jaraṭhaṃ ca tapasvīṃ ca* ... (cf. Cr 1477 from CNSap 46, and Cr 1666).
41. **arthe pratyupalabdhe ca* ... (cf. Cr 1189 from CNSap 47).
42. *strīṇāṃ dviguṇa āhāro* ... (Cr 159, CNSap 18, MSS 5714, IS 7024, Shn 78, Dhn 167, Ln 161, Mhn 200).
43. *yo dhruvāṇi parityajya* ... (Cr 860, CNSap 19, IS 5600, Dhn 100, Mhn 147).
44. *agnihotraphalā vedā* ... (Cr 9, CNSap 22, MSS 211, IS 71, Shn 68).
45. *apakāragṛhītena...* (cf. Cr 182, CNSap 26, IS 1279, Shn 58, Dhn 205, Mhn 252).

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46. *dhanadhānyaprayogeṣu* ... (Cr 501, CNSap 28, IS 3042, Dhn 203, Ln 160, Mhn 246).
47. *pārthivasya ca bhṛtyasya* ... (CNSap 30, Rn 2; cf. Cr 659, IS 7587).
48. *pañca yatra na vidyante* ... (Cr 625, CNSap 29, IS 3862, Shn 71).
49. *kulaśīlaguṇopetaḥ* ... (IS 1830, Shn 47, Rn 10; cf. Cr 290, 291, CNSap 31).
50. *iṅgitākāratattvajño* ... (Cr 162, IS 1089, Rn 12).
51. *medhāvī vākpaṭuḥ* ... (CNSap 32, IS 4976; cf. Cr 789, Shn 84, Rn 13).
52. *sakṛduktaṃ gṛhītārtho* ... (CNSap 33, Shn 49, Rn 14; cf. Cr 1023, IS 6654).
53. **lekha[ka]ḥ pāṭhakaś caiva* ... (Cr 892).
54. *prājñaḥ śikṣāsu saṃvādī* ... (cf. Cr 698, Rn 15).
55. *samarthaḥ śuciśāstrajño* ... (CNSap 34; cf. Cr 1045, IS 6841, Shn 72, Rn 16).
56. *pitṛpaitāmaho dakṣaḥ* ... (cf. Cr 665, CNSap 37, IS 4111, Rn 17).
57. *vedavedāṅgatattvajño* ... (Cr 963, CNSap 35, IS 6269, Shn 48, Rn 20).
58. *na viśvased amitraṃ tu* ... (Cr 565, IS 3430, Prś 36; cf. CNSap 48, Shn 89, Dhn 232, Ln 84).
59. **mṛdunaiva ripuṃ hantu* ... (Cr 788, IS 4964, Dhn 67, Mhn 8; cf. CNSap 66).
60. **parokṣe guṇahantāraṃ* ... (Cr 646, CNSap 64, IS 3978, Shn 38, Dhn 90, Ln 80).
61. *bhṛtyā bahuvidhā jñeyā* ... (Cr 743, CNSap 36, IS 4623).
62. *alasaṃ mukharaṃ stabdhaṃ* ... (Cr 94, CNSap 40, MSS 3148, IS 639, Shn 66, Rn 4).
63. *tyajet svāminam atyugram* ... (Cr 430, CNSap 41, IS 7530; for ab cf. Dhn 89, Ln 89, Mhn 194).
64. *prājñaṃ dhīraṃ kulīnañ ca* ... (untraced).
65. *viṣād apy amṛtaṃ grāhyam* ... (abd: Cr 957, CNSap 24, IS 6227; cf. Shn 17).
66. *nātmacchidraṃ paro vidyād* ... (Cr 583, CNSap 49, IS 3692, Dhn 227, Ln 76; cf. Shn 79).
67. *siṃhād ekaṃ bakād ekaṃ* ... (Cr 1076, CNSap 51, IS 7041, Shn 27, Rn 47).
68. *bahukāryaṃ alpa[kārya]ṃ* ... (Shn 28; cf. Cr 691, CNSap 52, IS 4261, Rn 48).
69. *indriyāṇi tu saṃyamya* ... (Cr 1058, CNSap 53, IS 6950, Shn 29, Rn 49).
70. *prāgutthānaṃ ca yuddhaṃ ca* ... (Cr 688 as in CS var., CNSap 54, IS 5510, Shn 30, Rn 50).
71. **gūḍhamaithunasaṃkṛtyāṃ* ... (cf. Cr 355, CNSap 55, IS 2183,

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Shn 31, Rn 51).

72. **anālasyo 'lpasantoṣaḥ* ... (Cr 714, CNSap 56, IS 4427, Shn 32, Rn 52).
73. *śrānto 'pi vahate bhāraṃ* ... (Cr 100, CNSap 57, IS 694, Shn 33, Rn 53).
74. *etāṃś ca viṃśatiguṇān* ... (Cr 792 and 928, CNSap 58, Shn 34, Rn 54).
75. *krūraṃ vyasaninaṃ lubdham* ... (Cr 308, IS 7510, Rn 5).
76. *mūrkhe niyojite 'mātye* ... (Cr 784, CNSap 42, IS 4304, Shn 37, Rn 6).
77. *prājñe niyojite 'mātye* ... (Cr 699, IS 4303, Shn 59, Rn 7).
78. *yat kiṃcit kurute kāryaṃ* ... (Cr 798, CNSap 43, IS 5040, Rn 8).
79. **tasmād bhūmīśvaro 'mātyam* ... (Cr 414, CNSap 44, Rn 9; also in IS III, p. 644, note on 4304).
80. *paṇḍiteṣu guṇāḥ sarve* ... (Cr 631, CNSap 45, IS 3876).
81. *nātra kaścit kṛte kārye* ... (Cr 1624, CNSap 59, Dhn 204, Ln 145, Mhn 247; cf. Shn 99).
82. *strīṣu rājasu sarpeṣu* ... (Cr 2076, CNSap 60, Shn 12).
83. *vahed amitraṃ skandhena* ... (Cr 921, CNSap 61, IS 6013, Dhn 215, Ln 86, Mhn 232, Rn 101).
84. *lobhāt pramādād viśvāsāt* ... (Cr 1906 from CNSap 62, IS 5880).
85. *tāvad bhayasya bhetavyaṃ* ... (Cr 418, CNSap 63, IS 2550; cf. also Dhn 29, Ln 142).
86. **ṛṇaśeṣo 'gniśeṣaś ca* ... (Cr 194, CNSap 67, IS 1332, Shn 67, Dhn 237, Ln 87, Mhn 248).
87. *kudeśaṃ ca kumitraṃ ca* ... (Cr 1376, CNSap 68, IS III, p. 631 note on 1796, Prś 10, Shn 20, Dhn 233, Ln 91).
88. *kumitre nāsti viśvāsaḥ* ... (Prś 11; cf. Cr 286, CNSap 69, IS 1800, Shn 21).
89. *sabhāyāṃ yoṣitāṃ madhye* ... (Vyās 79; translated into Sinhala in the *Subhāṣitaya* of Alagiyavanna Mukaveṭi, stanza 71)[7].

The manuscript ends: *Nītiśāstraviniścayam samāptam. siddhir astu.* This is followed by the note on the copying of the manuscript as reproduced in W. A. de Silva's catalogue[8].

8. The relation of the Nśv to other texts becomes clear from the following table of parallels with CNSap, Shn and Rn:

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7. *Subhāṣita-varṇanā, being a Commentary on the Subhashita* [of Alagiyavanna Mukaveṭi] by W. F. GUNAWARDHANA, Panadure, 1917, Stanza 71, p. 98.
8. See above, note 2.

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Nśv	*CNSap*	*Shn*	*Rn*
1- 3	1- 3	1- 3	—
5	—	9	—
13	—	46	—
15	5	85	—
16	6	5	—
17	7	7	—
21	—	60	—
22	8	—	—
27	—	69	—
29	4	4	—
30	9	14	—
31	12	—	—
32	10	—	—
33	13	18	—
34	11	41	—
35	20	—	—
36	21	10	—
37	23	—	—
38	25	—	—
40-41	46-47	—	—
42	18	78	—
43	19	—	—
44	22	68	—
45	26	58	—
46	28	—	—
47	30	—	2
48	29	71	—
49	31	47	10
50	—	—	12
51	32	84	13
52	33	49	14
54	—	—	15
55	34	72	16
56	37	—	17
57	35	48	20
58	48	89	—
59	66	—	—
60	64	38	—
61	36	—	—
62	40	66	4
63	41	—	—
65	24	17	—
66	49	79	—
67-74	51-58	27-34	47-54
75	—	—	5
76	42	37	6
77	—	59	7
78-79	43-44	—	8- 9
80	45	—	—
81	59	99	—
82	60	12	—
83	61	—	101
84-85	62-63	—	—
86	67	67	—
87-88	68-69	20-21	—

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9. The sequence Nśv 67-74 corresponds to CNSap 51-58, Shn 27-34 and Rn 47-54. It has been discussed in the notes of the edition of the *Rājanīti* in *Pāli*[9]. This group of verses has been taken over from *Cāṇakyanītidarpaṇa* or *Vṛddhacāṇakya* textus ornatior 6.14-6.21; seven of these stanzas form also a sequence in two other main recensions of Cāṇakya's maxims, viz. *Vṛddhacāṇakya* textus simplicior, *Cāṇakyasārasaṅgraha* and (in a slightly different order) in *Cāṇkyanītiśāstra*. Therefore, we can only infer from this passage that our text is indebted to the *Cāṇakyanītidarpaṇa* branch of the *Cāṇakyanīti* text tradition.

10. There are, however, several specific correspondences of Nśv with the *Cāṇakyasaptati* (CNSap) which are evident from the table above, § 8. The *Cāṇakyasaptati* is known from a manuscript in Malayalam script. The editor, K. V. Sharma, has clearly established the particular place of this text in the text tradition of Cāṇakya's maxims. He determinates CNSap as « a version of Cāṇakya's maxims, different from all the six versions and bearing peculiar characteristics of its own »[10]. In the Nśv, we find parallels for the stanzas CNSap 1-13, 18-26, 28-37, 40-49, 51-64 and 66-69. Thus, all but 10 of the 70 stanzas of CNSap (excluding the two concluding verses) are common to both works. The order of the stanzas also points to their close source-relation (cf. Nśv 15-17 and CNSap 5-7, Nśv 30-34 and CNSap 10-13, Nśv 35-49 and CNSap 20-31 etc.). Many of these sequences are not found in any other known work. There are also several textual affinities (e.g. Nśv 55 and CNSap 34, Nśv 60 and CNSap 64 etc.) which may serve as additional evidence. Therefore, we may conclude that both Nśv and CNSap belong to the same branch of the *subhāṣita* literature.

11. Another clearly related work is the *Sīhalanīti* (Shn). This work is a Sanskrit *subhāṣitā* collection of 108 stanzas. It is known from a few manuscripts in Burmese script, and the present author has made a study of the text[11]. We do not know the author nor the date of Shn, but there can be no doubt that it is a *subhāṣita* collection of Ceylonese origin, though no Ceylonese manuscripts have been traced so far. The number of common verses of Shn and Nśv is 44, but there are few identical sequences in the order of the stanzas in the two texts only. Thus, it seems that these 44 common stanzas have been rearranged by the compiler of Shn or in its source.

12. The close relation of Nśv to the branch of the *Cāṇakyanīti* tradition which underlies the Pāli *nīti* works of Burma[12] becomes evident from

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9. H. Bechert and H. Braun, *Pāli Nīti Texts of Burma*, London (to be published shortly by the Pali Text Society), Introduction, § 65.
10. *Cāṇakya-saptati* (quoted above, § 5), p. 6.
11. See above, § 5.
12. See above, note 9.

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the correspondences of Nśv 49-57 and 75-79 with *Rājanīti pāli* (Rn) as seen from the table above, § 8. In all, 24 stanzas of Nśv have parallels in Rn. For 36 stanzas, one or more of the other Burmese *nīti* works in Pāli (*Dhammanīti*, *Lokanīti*, *Mahārahanīti*) provide parallels. Some of these stanzas do not seem to belong to any other Cāṇakya version (e.g. Nśv 20), and some show particular textual affinities between the Nśv version and the Pāli version (e.g. Nśv 39, 47, 59 and the common corruption in 8/9).

13. As for the relation of Nśv with the other works of the Sanskrit *nīti* literature of Ceylon, the evidence is much more limited. Only six stanzas have parallels in the *Pratyayaśataka*. One stanza (89) is found in the *Vyāsakāra*, and this is a verse which does not belong to any other version of the Cāṇakya tradition. This observation, however, is no stringent argument to disprove a possible Ceylonese origin of Nśv, because a Ceylonese compiler may have avoided to repeat too much of the material already found in other *subhāṣitasaṃgrahas* which were in use in Sri Lanka.

14. Thus, the question remains open whether a South Indian or a Ceylonese was the compiler of our small collection of *nīti* verses, but it seems that the Nśv has been an integral part of the *nīti* literature of Sri Lanka in an earlier period.

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P. L. BHARGAVA

NAMES AND EPITHETS OF KṚṢṆA IN THE *BHAGAVADGĪTĀ*

The variety of names, sobriquets and epithets is a well known characteristic of Sanskrit literature in general and of conversation in particular. Barring the first verse which is spoken by Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the only three speakers of the *Bhagavadgītā* are Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna and Sañjaya. A very interesting and important aspect of the study of this profound philosophical poem is the one concerning the names and epithets used by Arjuna and Sañjaya in addressing or referring to Kṛṣṇa. Names often conceal in themselves very useful historical information, and as such the importance of the study of the names of one who occupies a position of supremacy in the hearts of the majority of the people of India cannot be too greatly emphasised.

Kṛṣṇa, the name of the propounder of the philosophy of the *Bhagavadgītā*, is uttered by Arjuna and Sañjaya a dozen times in the *Bhagavadgītā*, thrice in Chapter I, once in Chapter V, thrice in Chapter VI, twice in Chapter XI, once in Chapter XVII, and twice in Chapter XVIII. Two of the appellations of Kṛṣṇa had practically assumed the force of names. One of them, Keśava, meaning one having luxuriant hair on the head, is uttered by Arjuna and Sañjaya seven times, once in Chapter I, once in Chapter II, once in Chapter III, once in Chapter X, once in Chapter XI, once in Chapter XIII and once in Chapter XVIII. The other appellation Govinda, meaning possessor of cows, borne by Kṛṣṇa in consequence of his having been brought up among cowherds, occurs only twice, being uttered once by Arjuna in Chapter I and once by Sañjaya in Chapter II.

Besides the three names, the *Bhagavadgītā* refers to Kṛṣṇa by his several well known epithets which can be divided into three categories. In the first category may be put his three patronymics. Kṛṣṇa was called Mādhava after an ancestor of his named Madhu, Vāṛṣṇeya after another ancestor named Vṛṣṇi and Vāsudeva after his father Vasudeva. Each of these patronymics of Kṛṣṇa occurs twice in the *Bhagavadgītā*,

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Mādhava being uttered by Sañjaya and Arjuna in Chapter I, Vārṣṇeya by Arjuna once in Chapter I and once in Chapter III, and Vāsudeva by Sañjaya once in Chapter XI and once in Chapter XVIII.

Three of the epithets of Kṛṣṇa refer to his qualities as a warrior conquering all forms of evil. The first of these epithets is Janārdana, meaning destroyer of evil persons. It occurs six times in the *Bhagavadgītā*, being uttered by Arjuna thrice in Chapter I, once in Chapter III, once in Chapter X and once in Chapter XI. The other two epithets refer to his conquest of individual evildoers. The first of these is Madhusūdana, meaning slayer of Madhu, a wicked person bearing the same name as one of the ancestors of Kṛṣṇa. It occurs five times in the *Bhagavadgītā*, being uttered by Sañjaya once in Chapter II, and by Arjuna once in Chapter I, once in Chapter II, once in Chapter VI and once in Chapter VIII. The other epithet Keśiniṣūdana, meaning slayer of Keśin, occurs only once, being uttered by Arjuna in Chapter XVIII.

Two of the epithets of Kṛṣṇa refer to his moral qualities. One of these epithets is Hṛṣīkeśa, meaning controller of senses. It occurs seven times in the *Bhagvadgītā*, being uttered by Sañjaya thrice in Chapter I and twice in Chapter II, and by Arjuna, once in Chapter VI and once in Chapter XVIII. The other epithet Acyuta, meaning one not deviating from righteousness or not yielding to pasions, occurs only thrice, being uttered by Arjuna once in Chapter I, once in Chapter XI and once in Chapter XVIII.

Some words used for addressing Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā* are merely descriptive of his qualities rather than epithets, for they can be used for any other person also having the same qualities. Since Kṛṣṇa was an adept in yoga he has five times been called *yogin*, *yogeśvara* or *mahāyogeśvara* (X,17; XI,4,9; XVIII,75,78). Like any other great warrior he has once been called *arisūdana* or slayer of enemies (II,4). One word indicative of physical excellence and strength has been used reciprocatively by Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna for each other. This is the word *mahābāhu*, mighty-armed, used three times by Arjuna in addressing Kṛṣṇa (VI,38; XI,23; XVIII,1) but used many more times by Kṛṣṇa in addressing Arjuna. Because of his reverence for Kṛṣṇa as a great teacher, Arjuna has also addresed him twice as prabhu, Master or Lord (XI,4; XIV,21).

In Chapters VII to XII of the *Bhagavadgītā*, not only Kṛṣṇa himself throughout claims to be God, but Arjuna also wherever he addresses him (in Chapters VII, IX and XII he does not address Kṛṣṇa at all) does so by repeatedly using for him words signifying God or the Supreme Being. These words can be divided into different classes. To begin with, a number of words are the compounds of puruṣa, spirit. Thus Kṛṣṇa has thrice been addressed by Arjuna as Puruṣottama, the Supreme Sprit (VIII,1; X,15; XI,3), once as Śāśvata Divya Puruṣa, Everlasting Divine Spirit (X,12), once as Sanātana Puruṣa, Eternal Spirit (XI,18) and once as Purāṇa Puruṣa, Ancient Spirit (XI,38). Some words

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are the compounds of para or parama, supreme. Thus he has been called Para Brahma, Supreme Being (X,12), Para Dhāma, Supreme Abode (X,12), Parama Pavitra, Most Holy (X,12) and Parameśvara, Supreme Lord (XI,3). Several words are the compounds of deva, god. Thus he has not only been called Deva, Deity or God (XI,14, 15,45) but also as Ādi Deva, Primeval Deity (X,12; XI,38), Devadeva, God of gods (X,15; XI,13), Deveśa, Lord of gods (XI,25, 37,45), and Devavara, Best of gods (XI,31). A few of the words are the compounds of bhūta, being. Thus he has once been called Bhūtabhāvana, Source of beings (X,15) and once Bhūteśa, Lord of beings (X,15). Two of the words are compounds of jagat, world. Thus he has once been called Jagatpati, Ruler of the world (X,15) and thrice Jagannivāsa, Refuge of the world (XI,25, 37,45). Two of the words are compounds of viśva, all. Thus he has been called Viśveśvara, Ruler of all and Viśvarūpa, Omniform (XI,16). He has also been called Ananta, Infinite (XI,37) and Anantarūpa, of Infinite form (XI,38), besides being called Aja, Unborn and Vibhu, All pervading (X,12). Lastly he has once actually been addressed as Viṣṇu (XI,24).

As has been pointed out earlier, names often lend interesting historical information. It has long been recognized that the absence of some Purāṇic epithets of Kṛṣṇa, such as Gopīvallabha, Rādhāramaṇa and Giridhara among those occurring in the *Bhagavadgītā* indubitaly proves that the myths on which the Purāṇic epithets are based were invented at a time much later than that of the composition of the *Bagavadgītā*. There is, however, another aspect which has so far escaped the attention of scholars. Why is it that Arjuna addresses Kṛṣṇa by words signifying God, such as Puruṣottama or Parameśvara, only in the intervening six chapters of the *Bhagavadgītā* and not in the preceding or succeeding ones? Metrical considerations, of course, do not stand in the way of such a use, for Puruṣottama or Parameśvara could well have been used in place of Madhusūdana which occurs as may as four times in the earlier chapters. Even if it is said that Arjuna was not fully aware of the divine nature of Kṛṣṇa until the latter dwelt upon it at some length in Chapter VII, it does not solve the problem, for in that case he should have addressed Kṛṣṇa as God at least in the last six chapters. On the other hand, having expressed regret in verse 41 of Chapter XI for addressing by his mere name one whose divine nature he did not know before, Arjuna does not feel any compunction in again addressing him as Kṛṣṇa in verse 1 of Chapter XVII. The only inevitable conclusion is that the original *Bhagavadgītā* comprising the first six and the last a human teacher, and the intervening six chapters[1] besides a few spo-

1. It is precisely in one of these chapters (IX,32) that not only Śūdras but even women and Vaiśyas are called PĀPAYONI, born of the womb of sin, whereas in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (V,10) the Vaiśyas are classed with Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas as born of a pleasant womb, and women and Śūdras too are not included among those of a sinful womb. It is clear that Kṛṣṇa, if he is identical with Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, could not have held the views attributed to him in *Bhagavadgītā*, IX,32.

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six chapters was composed at a time when Kṛṣṇa was still regarded as radic verses in the other chapters[2] were added after his deification. The time of the composition of the original *Bhagavadgītā* could not have been later than the fifth century B.C., for Kṛṣṇa was already deified in the fourth century B.C. according to the testimony of Megasthenes.

2. See my article Additions and Interpolations in the *Bhagavadgītā* in EW, New Series, Vol. 27, Nos. 1-4, December 1977.

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G. K. BHAT

A NOTE ON ŚATAKA-KĀVYA

(1)

If Sanskrit kāvya literature were to be compared to an ocean the different patterns of poetic composition in this literature would appear like rivers and streams flowing into the ocean. The important streams are, of course, the epic, the lyric or *khaṇḍakāvya* and the stray verse or *muktaka*. The epic poetry embraces the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and the classical ornate epics of poets like Kālidāsa. The *khaṇḍakāvya* specimens are the two lyrics of Kālidāsa *Ṛtusaṁhāra* and *Meghadūta*, *Ghaṭakarpara-kāvya* [1], *Caurapañcāśikā* of Bihlaṇa [2], *Gītagovinda* of Jaydeva [3] and poems of this type. *Muktaka* [4] is a single-verse pattern; it does not contain a story element developed through continuous and

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1. Tradition associates Kālidāsa with Ghaṭakarpara and Vetālabhaṭṭa, among the nine gems of the court of Bhoja or Vikramāditya. Jacobi thought *Ghaṭkarparakāvya* to be earlier than *Meghadūta*; but this does not appear to be so. Keith regards Jacobi's suggestion as « implausible ».

2. Bihlaṇa: son of Jyeṣṭhakalaśa and Nāgadevī; born at Koṇamukha near Pravarapura in Kashmir, of a pious learned family of Midland Brahmins; his father was a grammarian; left Kashmir to seek fame and fortune when Kalaśa came to the throne; literary career extended over the 3rd and 4th quarters of 11th century A. D.; when he came to South the Chalukya king Vikramāditya VI, Tribhuvanamalla (A. D. 1076-1127) honoured him and gave him the office of Vidyāpati; his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, an historical kāvya, was completed before 1088 A. D.

3. Jayadeva was a court poet of Lakṣmaṇasen of Bengal; Govardhana and Dhoyī were in the same court and his contemporaries; Śrīdharadāsa in his *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, compiled in A. D. 1206, quotes from Jayadeva; an inscription of A. D. 1292 has a verse from the *Gītagovinda*; so, 12th century A. D. is his time.

4. Cf. Bhāmaha, *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, I. 30: *anibaddham punar gāthāślokamātrādi... /* Daṇḍin, *Kāvyādarśa*, I. 13ff.: Comm. of Raddishastrin quotes from *Agnipurāṇa* (337.36): *Muktakam śloka ekaikaś camatkārakṣamaḥ satām /* Also quoted is another commentator Harinātha, who says: *anyānapekṣa ekaślokanibandho muktakam /* *Pratāparudrīya*, Kāvyaprakaraṇa 71: *asargabandham api yad « upakāvyam » udīryate / asargabandham Sūryaśatakādi / Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VI. 313-314: *padyagadyamayam dvidhā / chhandopabaddhapadam padyam, tena (dvitīyena padyena) muktena muktakam /*

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connected verses. A striking poetic idea, a mental state or a sound reflection is expressed in a couplet or a stanza of four lines. A *muktaka* is like a *śloka* or a stanza; but it is neither incomplete nor insufficient. Even in a very limited compass it expresses a whole thought or a mental state. A skillful artist may take a big canvas, use several figures, patterns and colours, and paint a full picture; or he may create an outline with a few deft strokes of his brush on a small canvas. The latter will not reveal the rich and varied details of the picture-image; and yet it will have a completeness of its own. The *muktaka* resembles this self-sufficient outline in which a poet reveals a thought or emotion with few chosen words. The completeness of revelation is contained within its own self.

A little elaboration of the *muktaka* form has been made for a purpose. The *śataka-kāvya*, which is the subject of this writing, is really a *muktaka* pattern from the point of view of its literary form and structural composition. The only difference is that a hundred stanzas are stringed here together, so that *śataka-kāvya* denotes a collection of hundred *muktakas*. Sanskrit poetic literature shows many *śataka-kāvyas*. From the sixth to the eighteenth century A. D. a number of small and great poets have composed stray verses which, considered as collections, could be described as *śataka-kāvyas*. Their subjects are varied; and the composers have used various metres also, like *gāthā, āryā, śārdūla-vikrīḍita, sragdharā* etc.

A bird's eye view of the *śataka-kāvya* literature would be facilitated, I think, by adopting some principle of classification. One such principle is the subject of the poem. Using this principle, it is possible to group the *śataka-kāvyas* into three categories: One category is of erotic poems. The *muktakas* here describe love. The poet paints in each separate stanza some phase or state of love, and all the hundred verses taken collectively form a series of pictures of love. The second category is of thoughtful or reflective verses. A glimpse of life's experience or a valuable reflection touching some phase is to be found in each of these verses. The third category may include verses of praise and prayer, mostly of a religious nature, otherwise called *stotra-kāvya*.

(2)

Love is a perennial subject of literature. The emotion of love is bound to have an unbroken attraction for the poetic imagination and the reader's mind as long as there is human life on this earth. It is not easy to trace the beginnings of stray verses written on the theme of love and collected together from a chronological point of view; but the extant and available literature in Sanskrit shows the existence of *śṛṅgāra*-based *śataka-kāvya* in the sixth century A. D. The most impor-

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tant name in this category is *Amaru-śataka*[5] of the poet Amaru, which holds a place in the first rank, possibly in a chronological account but undoubtedly in sheer poetic merit and in lyrical expression of a tender emotion. In these hundred *muktakas* Amaru has revealed varied and alluring pictures of the emotion of love. There is here a young, inexperienced, innocent girl feeling the impact of love for the first time, as there is a glimpse of an experienced nāyaka enjoying his pleasures of love. The poet has spread, as it were, a multi-coloured rainbow of love through these verses. The *Amaru-śataka* gives us portraits of untrained, innocent young maidens, as well as proud, haughty ladies; there are here female companions trained in the art of love who can give correct advice to a newly married girl. There is a traveller here separated from his wife whose heart throbs with memories of love and quivers with pain at the sight of dark rain-filled clouds of the monsoon. There is an anxious lover entreating his beloved to give up her anger. There is an impatient wife, yearning to meet her husband, and worrying her head to find out a polite excuse to drive out the maids who are still lingering in the bed-chamber for no reason. We also meet a sophisticated wife, clever and resourceful: The house parrot was repeating in the morning the love talk between her and her husband, and that too in the presence of the elders in the house. Overcome with shame and embarrassed by this revelation of privacy, the bride snatched a ruby from her ear-ring, placed it in the parrot's beak, shut its mouth and saved the situation. The parrot's mistaking the ruby for a pomgranate seed is an understandable illusion; but the resourcefulness of the nāyikā in tricking the parrot and in saving a very embarrassing situation appears to be as clever as it is delightful. Amaru's *muktakas* are full of such deligthful pictures of love. And in presenting these pictures the practised skill with which he has handled the long and complicated metres like *śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *śikhariṇī*, his simple and easy diction which avoids heavy compounds, compel the admiration of a discerning reader. The deligthful and intense theme of love and its limpid expression combine to make this poem a literary treasure. It is no wonder that a prestigious theoretician and literary critic like Ānandavardhana felt that Amaru's *muktaka*, a single stanza, has the greatness of a *prabandha*, a massive composition[6].

It is natural to remember the poet Hāla's *Gāthāsaptaśatī*[7] when thinking of *muktaka* verses on erotic themes. But there are in this col-

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5. 7th century A.D. Ānandavardhana refers to Amaru with great appreciation.

6. *Dhvanyāloka*, III: ... *Amarukasya kaver muktakāḥ śṛṅgārarasasyandinaḥ prabandhāyamānāḥ prasiddhā eva /*

7. Hāla taken to be Sātavāhana, lord of Kuntala Janapada, capital Pratiṣṭhāna; encouraged Prakrit; Śarvavarmā, author of *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa*, is supposed to have taught him Sanskrit, and Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* composed during his regime; placed in the 1st century A. D. Keith discounts the Sātavāhana date of 1st or 2nd cent. A. D. for *Gāthāsaptaśatī*; evidence of Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit, according to him, suggests A. D. 200-450 as the period of this compilation.

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lection, as the name indicates, seven hundred *gāthā* verses which express different aspects of love, and the composition is not in Sanskrit but in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit. There is another noteworthy difference. The entire background of these verses is of village life and the emotion of love delineated poetically belongs to village girls. Their speeches and utterances, their manners and customs, are coloured by the naunces of village life. These village girls are by nature quite straight-forward. But they are equally confident about their skill in the art of love. They cherish in their heart the ambition to outshine a sophisticated maiden from the advanced town or city in dexerity which the sport of love demands. In presenting convincing pictures of emotion and in projecting realistic images of the subject both Hāla and Amaru, however, seem to be poets of a true genre.

The *Āryāsaptaśatī* of Govardhanācārya [8] is modelled on Hāla's collection. In *āryā* metre, which resembles *gāthā*, seven hundred verses on erotic themes are preesnted here, and the composition is in Sanskrit. Govardhanācārya possesses a composer's skill and has a fair command over the Sanskrit language. But his *Āryāsaptaśatī* misses the intense emotional appeal which is found in the verses of Amaru or Hāla. An important reason in this connection appears to be the establishment of some poetic conventions and consequent stylisation in the literary treatment of *śṛṅgāra*. The poets of this period and of the following times, who had acquired the craft of poetry-making but did not possess the poetic genius, were under a compelling influence of these conventions and tried hard to emulate them in their compositions. The later love poetry presents the same conventional pictures of love with minor variations over and over again. And barring the individual poetic talent and the variety of metrical construction, the face of the emotion of love that stands before the reader appears to be familiar from old days.

In the « Kāvyamāla » series published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, there is in one book a poem called *Bhāvaśataka* by one Nāgarāja [9], which may be looked upon as a typical example of conventional composition. Jagannātha Paṇḍita [10] presents in his *Prāstāvika-vilāsa muktaka* verses addressed to such objects as animals, birds, moon, lotus, bee; they are *anyoktis* or *aprastuta-praśaṁsās*, and under the guise of addressing an irrelevant object they imply an emotional or

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8. Court poet of Lakṣmaṇasen of Bengal, contemporary of Jayadeva who praises him in his *Gītagovinda* for his skill in treating *śṛṅgārarasa*; 12th cent. A. D.

9. Nāgarāja is the son of Jalapa and grandson of Vidyādhara of Karpaṭi-gotra; at the end of the poem *Bhāvaśataka* he is spoken of as « a king who was the ornament of the Ṭaka race », perhaps a family of petty chiefs, whose capital Kashtha was on the bank of Yamunā, north of Delhi. Cf. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, p. 379.

10. Jagannātha Paṇḍita is associated with the court of Shahjahan; 17th cent. A. D According to Prof. R. B. Athavale (*Rasagaṅgādhara*, Marathi tr. and Intr., Vol. III, Tilak Vidyapith, Poona) J. was born in A. D. 1572 and died some time before 1670.

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thoughtful reflection on human life, relations and behaviour. The poet Nāgarāja has adopted this mode of expression in his *Bhāvaśataka.* The *Bhāminīvilāsa* and *Karuṇavilāsa* of Jagannātha contain striking pictures of love and of love in separation. Jagannātha is an accomplished poet; his skill in mellifluous and musical word-construction is quite apparent; occasionally he comes out with a brilliant poetic idea, or succeeds in presenting an old idea in a new and beautiful garb. The verses also are of the *muktaka* type. However, as the number of verses in these collection does not come to a hundred, they cannot be strictly called *śataka-kāvyas.*

The *Śṛṅgāraśataka* of Bhartṛhari [11] stands out therefore in this category. Plain statement and very lucid diction and style are the outstanding features of Bhartṛhari's poetry. Having taken the subject of *śṛṅgāra* Bhartṛhari deals with it without any reservation. Innuendo or indirect expression is not his method; plain-speaking is. So, it is no use finding fault with this poet for his open pictures of love and the undisguised expression of the art of love; on the contrary one may admire the poet for his open, uninhibited poetic revelation. When Bhartṛhari turned to the themes of *Nīti* and *Vairāgya* he showed the same intensity and plain-spokenness as are found in his expression of the erotic theme. In scrutinizing the journey of Bhartṛhari's emotional life from the passion of love to resignation one, therefore, feels that the poet could not have been so intense and honest about the feeling of resignation had he not really experienced the luxury and abandon of the emotion of love.

(3)

In accordance with the principles of Sanskrit Poetics the mutual feeling of love between man and woman is *rati.* The poetic expression of this abiding, universal emotion of love (*sthāyi-bhāva rati*) turns into the rhetorical sentiment of love (*śṛṅgāra-rasa*). When this *rati* or love is expressed about god it is to be called the emotion of devotion (*bhakti-bhāva*) [12]. Natural as the mutual attraction and love between sexes is, devotion to god is equally a natural emotion of the human heart. As emotion of the heart *śṛṅgāra* and *bhakti*, thus, come close together in poetic expression, the object of love only being different in the twin emotions. And it is interesting to find that if Sanskrit poetic literature abounds in the description of eros it does not lack in profuseness in the sphere of devotional poetry too.

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11. Bhartṛhari is referred to by the Chinese pilgrim I-tsang; probably the poet and the grammarian, author of *Vākyapadīya*, are identical; the grammarian is known to have died in A. D. 651; the date therefore is 7th cent. A. D.

12. Cf. Mammaṭa, *Kāvyaprakāśa* IV. 35: *Ratir devādiviṣayā vyabhicārī tathāñjitaḥ / Bhāvaḥ proktaḥ... //* Viśvanātha, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 260b-261a: *Sañcāriṇaḥ pradhānāni devādiviṣayā ratiḥ / Udbuddhamātraḥ sthāyī ca bhāva ity-abhidhīyate //*

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Consideration of devotional poetry easily brings to mind the several *stotras* of Śrīmat-Śaṅkarācārya [13] which are a marvellous blend of devotion and Vedānta philosophy; the *Ālabandāra stotra* of Yāmunācārya [14]; several Vaiṣṇavite, Śaivite, Jain and Buddhistic devotional poems; the songs of praise and prayer addressed to various deities and found in the Purāṇas; and devotional poetry of other poets. But the context of *śataka-kāvya* must restrict our choice to few compositions only.

In a *śataka-kāvya* of devotional type the poet chooses his own favourite deity as the subject of his composition. There is an intense desire to propitiate the deity through the modes of remembrance, contemplation, praise and prayer. There is also a strong desire to seek the favour of the deity and obtain thereby some cherished fruit; occasionally the *stotra* may be an expression of deep gratitude and bliss for a favour already obtained. As a literary form the composition is still a *muktaka*, because each verse is complete and self-sufficient in itself; but the subject, namely, the description of a particular deity, gives the separate verses a kind of homogeneous unity, which other collections of *muktakas*, which touch different aspects of some emotion or different reflections, do not have. The separateness of the verses in this category of devotional poetry appears to fade in the central personality of the particular deity.

The *Caṇḍīśataka* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa [15] and *Sūryaśataka* of the poet Mayūra [16] come in this category. The poem of Mayūra is a praise of Āditya, Sūrya or Sun. Mayūra draws pictures of the Sun's brilliant orb, his dazzling rays, his chariot and horses, his charioteer Aruṇa and so on, offering his faithful devotion to this god of light. In these varied pictures there are poetic imageries consistent with the accepted poetic conventions, an outline of rich details, and also an expression of the proper feeling of devotion. The poet firmly believes that the blessings of the Sun-god will dissolve sin of any kind, and man will be endowed with health, long life, glowing vigour and brilliance of intellect. This faith finds expression in the hundred and first verse which closes the poem. There is a popular story that Mayūra was seized with leprosy, and he was cured of this dreaded disease by his sincere propitiation of the Sun-god and in virtue of the deity's blessing. It is likely that the story may have originated from this verse which describes the fruits of devotion to Sun and the poet's profound faith in the divine powers of Sun reflected in the poem.

In *Caṇḍīśataka* Bāṇa praises Caṇḍī or Pārvatī, the divine slayer of the demon Mahiṣa. The form that Pārvatī revealed while killing Mahiṣa, the particular pose with one foot lifted up that she struck in bringing her weapon down on the chest of the demon Mahiṣa, that form, that

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13. 7th-8th century A. D.
14. Preceptor of Rāmānuja; 10th century A. D.
15. Bāṇa, patronised by Harṣavardhana of Kanauj; 625-650 A. D.
16. A relative of Bāṇabhaṭṭa; 7th cent. A. D. first half.

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lifted-up foot of the goddess, linger continuously before the poet's mental eye. He turns to the form and the pose continuously and describes them with renewed poetic imageries. « *Sā-avatāt Aṁbikā vaḥ* » this phrase or words of identical content form a refrain, as it were, of this devotional poem of Bāṇa.

The *Rāmaśataka* of the poet Someśvara[17] seems to imitate the literary mode of Bāṇa. But Someśvara has the gift of a real poet. His praise of Rāma in this poem easily mingles with the moving flow of the biographical narration, and his diction is free from artificial embellishment.

Among the poems of the later period mention must be made of the *Devīśataka* of Ānandavardhanācārya[18], *Īśvaraśataka* of the poet Avatāra[19] and *Rasikarañjana* of Rāmacandrakavi[20]. The peculiarity of the *Rasikarañjana* is that it nourishes the emotion of devotion and of resignation, both, by a clever manipulation of words.

The sincerity of devotion expressed in these devotional poems need not be questioned. It may be assumed that a poet would not be impelled to offer a mead of praise to his favourite deity unless his heart were brimming with the feeling of devotion and struggling to find an expression. But a survey of many a devotional poem, especially of the later period, leads one to suppose that the poet is bent on displaying his skill in poetic composition, and appears to be more anxious to dazzle his reader and win his approbation by his clever craft rather than winning the favour of a god by a moving expression of his personal devotion. Were it not so, the manipulation of the mastery over verbal expression and the flights of imagination on the strength of erudite poetic conceits that are often found in these devotional poems would not be easy to be justified. Even poets like Bāṇa and Mayūra use a long and intricate metre like *sragdharā*, long and heavy compounds, heavy and difficult diction to achieve some musical effect, and allow themselves to be carried away by poetic fancies. Compare, for instance, the following lines of Mayūra[21]:

Vyagrair agrya-graha-indu-grasana-gurubharair
no samagrair udagraiḥ /
Pratyagrair īṣad-ugrair udayagirigato
gogaṇair gaurayan gām //

which express only the idea of the Sun coming up the eastern mountain,

---

17. Someśvara was the son of Kumāra and Lakṣmī; his eighth ancestor was the *purohita* of Mūlarāja, founder of the Chālukya dynasty of Anahilwāḍ; the poet was a friend of the ruler Vastupāla (1179-1262 A. D.); his date is 13th cent. A. D.
18. The famous author of *Dhvanyāloka*; 9th cent. A. D.
19. No information available.
20. The work is printed, Bombay; according to Krishnamachariar it was composed in A. D. 1524.
21. *Mayūra* or *Sūrya-śataka*, v. 98.

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obscuring the planets and the moon, and with his straight and dazzling rays plunging the earth into a glory of light; or the following lines of Bāṇa [22], describing the fall of weapons in a combat:

Cakram cakrāyudhasya kvaṇati nipatitam
romaṇi grāmaṇīva /
Sthāṇor bāṇaś ca lebhe pratihatam uruṇā
carmaṇā varmaṇeva //

The lines jingle with alliterative sound of letters like the musical sound of anklets. It is somewhat surprising that Bāṇa uses less compounds in his verse than in his prose, and his word-construction is more free and less affected than that of Mayūra. However, a real lover of poetry is apt to feel that if god is pleased with a single flower or a few petals offered in sincere devotion, where is the necessity of raising such forests of word-flowers to propitiate him, particularly in devotional poems? The natural emotion of the heart need not be weighted down under the load of heavy ornamentation. These devotional poems display all the craft of workmanship; but this is mechanical skill, not an expression of spontaneous feeling. There is no perception here, but exhibition. Such poetic constructions may dazzle one's intellect; but it is doubtful if they can move one's heart.

(4)

It is fortunate for a lover of literature that all poets are not lost in playing with words like children with their toys. A true poet who possesses the artist's instinctive vision is also a seer. He is able to discover hidden essences, closed to the ordinary eye, from the innumerable aspects of the life of the people, and is engaged in giving them a tangible form in words. In this creative effort the poet's observations and the words in which he clothes them attain the value of imperishable truths of life. They are verities of life and well-expressed in poetic words. In Sanskrit they are known as *subhāṣitas* and stand out as jewels of wisdom. The *muktakas* and *śataka-kāvyas* contain many such moral and didactic observations. Touched by the vision of a poet they have a universal validity.

In this category of poetic literature, full of moral, ethical and philosophical truths, Bhartṛhari's *Nīti* and *Vairāgya-śatakas* deserve to take the pride of place. Penetrating vision of discovering principles and truths, subtle and sincere power of observation and mirror-like transparent expression, these poetic qualities have bestowed on Bhartṛhari's words an uncommon splendour. The poet, who in his period of erotic

22. *Caṇḍīśataka*, v. 73.

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inclinations created a lovely picture of woman with all the attractive details, tells the reader now, when his mind is filled with the feeling of resignation, that the body of a woman which men generally take to be a lake of loveliness is nothing but a puddle of skin, and man is struggling in vain to take a plunge into it like insects into a muddy pond.

The ethical and philosophical statements of Bhartṛhari are like lighted lamps on the dark path of life. *Sarve guṇāḥ kāñcanam āśrayante*, « all virtues take the shelter of gold », is a hackneyed observation now; but how devastating and convincing it is! « Even the god of creation will fail in pleasing a fool » is a statement whose validity has not been impaired by the passage of time. The tree-tops bear the scorching heat of the sun; but to the weary traveller coming to their trunk for rest the trees offer cool shade; *paropakārāya satām vibhūtayaḥ*, « the great and virtuous exist on this earth only to oblige others »: this is a universal truth which we may have experienced some time in our own life.

A study of poetic literature often leads one to suppose that the poetry of love and devotional poetry may not fully and completely reflect a poet's mind. A studied use of poetic conventions leads to the recurrence of the same ideas over and over again; and such poetry, however embellished, does not reach our heart. A poet's clever manipulation of words may dazzle a reader, but it may leave him cold so far as the emotion of the poem is concerned. The genuine didactic verse seems to stand therefore in a different class. A poet's observation in a *subhāṣita* may not be absolutely new; its verbal expression may not have the grace of charming poetry; and yet its power of thought cannot but affect us. Sanskrit poetry leaps up with such fountains of life's reflections. A later poet, Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita[23], observes in his *śataka-kāvya, Sabhārañjana*:

Āhatya cinumaḥ svargam apavargam anukramāt /
Anukūle hi dāmpatye pratikūlam na kiñcana //

Harmony and full accord with one's wife is an assurance that the pleasures of heaven and the happiness of spiritual liberation are here on this earth.

The *Anyokti-kalāpa* of Jagannātha Paṇḍita contains many such beautiful observations on human life. Kṣemendra of the eleventh century A. D. is a versatile and prolific writer, whose works like *Darpadalana* and *Cārucaryā* are well known in this category. The poet has wisely and intelligenty attacked in them the prevailing defects and vices of society and suggested a line of pure conduct of life. Some old poems

23. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, popularly known as Ayyā Dīkṣita, was the son of Nārāyaṇā and Bhūmidevī, grandson of Accā Dīkṣita and grand-nephew of Appayya Dīkṣita; his popular *campu Nīlakaṇṭhavijaya* was written in 1637 A. D. His period is 17th cent. A. D. Cf. Krishnamachariar, *op. cit.*

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like the *Cāṇakyanīti* or *Vidūranīti* come to the mind in this context. Though these are not *śataka-kāvyas* precisely, they come in the same category of poetry of philosophical wisdom.

Among the successors of Bhartṛhari the poet who must be duly reckoned is Bhallaṭa [24]. His *Bhallaṭa śataka* is as well known as Amaru's Century of love poetry and is equally important for Sanskrit literature. Bhallaṭa's verses are often quoted in the works on Sanskrit Poetics. His style is mature and he writes with the confidence and grace of a true poet. The simplicity and transparency of Bhartṛhari's verses is, of course, not to be found in Bhallaṭa's writing. Bhallaṭa aims at conveying some deep truth suggestively and builds his verse for it with the essentials of poetry. For example, he describes in a verse a parrot who happens to see a cotton tree. He thinks that the fruit of the tree must be as charming as its flower. Luckily the fruit was also ripe. But alas! a forceful gust of wind came and threw the fruit far away. The only thing that the parrot got was despair and misery. The truth suggested by the verse is the outward form may be enticing but is often deceptive; we allow ourselves to be duped and experience consequently despair, misery and unhappiness through our own thoughtlessness.

(5)

The *śataka-kāvya*, thus, presents a variety which may appeal to different tastes: pictures of love, emotion of piety and devotion, wise reflections on life that may serve as a guide to one's own conduct. Some readers may, however, be attracted by lyrical and epic poetry only, and find these stray verses rather trite. Yet the essence of the *muktaka*, which is the form of the *śataka-kāvya*, is its tiny size and the completeness of its expression. It is like a miniature painting. It still has the power of engaging one's mind and giving a taste of artistic pleasure or philosophical wisdom.

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24. Bhallaṭa lived under the reign of Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir (883-902 A. D.), and was a junior contemporary of Ānandavardhana; last quarter of 9th cent. A. D.

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KAMALESWAR BHATTACHARYA

NOTES BOUDDHIQUES

I. *NIRVĀṆADHĀTU, NIRVĀṆAPURA*

Les expressions *nirvāṇadhātu, nirvāṇapura* se rencontrent souvent dans la littérature bouddhique. Le Nirvāṇa est donc conçu comme une « sphère », comme une « ville » [1]. Oldenberg signalait jadis qu'il s'agit là d'une expression « métaphorique » [2]. La littérature bouddhique — comme la littérature indienne en général — emploie en effet volontiers de telles métaphores, dont le but est, comme l'a souligné Geiger [3], « übersinnliche Begriffe durch Gleichnisse und Bilder verständlich zu machen ». Cependant, ce fait ne semble pas avoir été reconnu toujours. Il nous a donc semblé bon de le préciser, avec quelques documents nouveaux.

Si l'expression *nibbānadhātu* se rencontre couramment dans la littérature bouddhique pālie, l'expression *nibbānapura* n'y semble pas attestée. Cependant, Buddhaghosa emploie la métaphore: *nagaraṃ viya nibbānaṃ; nagara-dvāraṃ viya aṭṭhaṅgiko lokuttara-maggo...* [4].

L'expression *nirvāṇapura* est souvent employée dans la littérature bouddhique en sanskrit. Yaśomitra, dans l'*Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, la glose par *nirvāṇam eva puram* « la ville qu'est le Nirvāṇa » (et non pas *nirvāṇasya puram* « la ville du Nirvāṇa ») [5]. Cette glose rappelle celle

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1. Cf. H. OLDENBERG, *Buddha: sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*, herausgegeben von Helmuth von Glasenapp, « Goldmanns Gelbe Taschenbücher », Band 708/709, München, 1961, pp. 385-386 (n. 59); *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus*², Göttingen, 1923, p. 269; E. FRAUWALLNER, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie* I, Salzburg, 1953, p. 227.

2. *Die Lehre der Upanishaden...*, n. 200, p. 310: « Natürlich ist das bildlich gemeint, wie ich wegen Franke Dīghanikāya 209 A. 1 bemerke. Nicht bildlich bei den Jainas ».

3. M. et W. GEIGER, *Pāli Dhamma*, « Abh. der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften », Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, XXXI. Band, 1. Abh., München, 1920, pp. 74-75.

4. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, éd. PTS, III, p. 755. Cf. *Sāratthappakāsinī*, II, p. 117 (*nibbāna-nagara*).

5. *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, éd. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932-1936, p. 721. Cf. *L'Ātman-Brahman dans le Bouddhisme ancien*, « Publications de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient », vol. XC, Paris, 1973, p. 58, n. 3.

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que donne Śaṅkara des expressions upaniṣadiques *brahmaloka, brahmapura*: *brahmaiva lokaḥ, brahmaiva puram* [6].

II. *NIRVĀṆA = BRAHMAN*

Maints passages du Canon pāli signalent cette équivalence. Mais les commentateurs oublient le *brahman* neutre et voient partout Brahmā, qu'ils interprètent, cependant, au sens de « suprême » (*seṭṭha*) [7]. Il convient de noter, à cet égard, un passage du commentaire de l'*Arthaviniścaya-Sūtra*, édité naguère par N. H. Samtani [8]: *brahmacaryaṃ nirvāṇaprāpako 'nāsravo mārgaḥ. nirvāṇaṃ brahmocyate, paramapradhānatvāt. kuta etat? « ity api sa bhagavān śāntaḥ śītībhūto brahmībhūta » iti Sūtrāt* (p. 81). *Brahmacarya* est ici appelé « le chemin pur, qui conduit au Nirvāṇa » (*nirvāṇaprāpako 'nāsravo mārgaḥ*) [9]. Et notre texte cite, à l'appui de cette idée, un *Sūtra* qui rappelle plusieurs textes du Canon pāli[10]. Mais, lorsqu'il dit: *nirvāṇaṃ brahmocyate, paramapradhānatvāt* « Nirvāṇa est appelé B., parce qu'il vise essentiellement le Suprême » (*parama*; cf. le *seṭṭha* des commentaires pālis), doit-on penser qu'il s'agit du *brahman* neutre, plutôt que de Brahmā? L'éditeur écrit: « Expl. of *brahma* as *nirvāṇa* is remarkable. In Buddhaghosa's various interpretations, identity of *brahma* and *nirvāṇa* is not clearly stated, although *brahma* is considered to be something "highest" (*seṭṭhaṭṭhena*)... ». Mais il s'agit peut-être là simplement d'une confusion. Buddhaghosa ne désigne *jamais*, par le terme *seṭṭha*, le *brahman* neutre, qu'il ignore totalement [11]. Et rien, dans notre texte, n'indique que l'auteur parle de *brahman* et non pas de Brahmā.

III. *SAHAVYATĀ = SĀYUJYA*

« Le terme *sahavyatā*, qu'emploient les textes pālis, rappelle le *sāyujya* de la tradition ritualiste. Cf. *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa*, XXI, 1...: *Brahmaṇaḥ*

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6. *L'Ātman-Brahman...*, pp. 11, n. 1; 58, n. 3; 148, n. 2.
7. *Ibid.*, ch. II, et pp. 149-151. Voir aussi *On the Brahman in Buddhist Literature*, VUOJ, XVIII, 1975, pp. 1-8.
8. *The Arthaviniścaya-Sūtra and its Commentary* (*Nibandha*), Patna, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1971, « Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series », vol. XIII.
9. Cf. *L'Ātman-Brahman...*, p. 90.
10. *Ibid.*, ch. II.
11. Le terme *seṭṭha* a aussi induit en erreur W. Geiger, cf. *L'Ātman-Brahman...*, p. 80, n. 1. Cf. cependant *Visuddhimagga* IX, 106 = *Atthasālinī* § 428, *ibid.*, p. 80; cf. Samtani, p. 195, n. 5.

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salokatāṃ sāyujyam[12] ». — Il est intéressant de noter que le terme *Brahma-sāyujya* est employé, à propos des *Brahmavihāra*[13], dans l'*Abhidharmadīpa*, édité par Padmanabh S. Jaini[14]: *ebhyas tv anyatamenāpi Brahmasāyujyam aśnute* (p. 428). Et l'éditeur fait justement le rapprochement avec le *Tevijja-Sutta* du *Dīgha-Nikāya*, qui emploie le terme *Brahma-sahavyatā*[15].

IV. *ADARŚANAYOGENA VIṢAYATVAM UPAYĀTI*

Nous avons suffisamment parlé de cette question[16]. Cf. encore *Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra*[17], I, 44: *ye paśyanti yathādṛṣṭaṃ na te paśyanti nāyakam*; II, 5: *indriyārthavisaṃyuktam adṛśyaṃ yasya darśanam.*

V. *NAIRĀTMYA*

L'*ātman*, dans les Upaniṣad, est *anātmya, nirātman, nirātmaka*[18]. Le *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* et le commentaire du *Ratnagotravibhāga* font de *nairātmya* un synonyme de *mahātman/paramātman*[19]. Et Vasubandhu, dans la *Viṃśatikā-vṛtti*, définit ainsi *nairātmya*: « La nature-propre des phénomènes, consistant en sujet et objet, telle que les puérils l'imaginent, c'est là le soi imaginaire des phénomènes; et c'est par ce soi imaginaire que les phénomènes sont sans-soi; mais non pas par le Soi ineffable qui est le domaine des Buddha » (*yo bālair dharmāṇāṃ svabhāvo grāhyagrāhakādiḥ parikalpitas tena kalpitenātmanā teṣāṃ nairātmyam, na tv anabhilāpyenātmanā yo buddhānāṃ viṣayaḥ*)[20].

« Ce n'est, en effet », avons-nous écrit[21], « que cet *ātman* imaginaire (*kalpita ātmā*), — la prétendue substantialité ontologique des phénomènes individuels, — que le Buddha nie, non le vrai *ātman* spirituel, fondement universel ». Notons, à ce propos, que la *Vṛtti* sur Bhartṛhari, *Vākyapadīya*, I, 5[22], mentionne, parmi les « conceptions de l'accès (au

12. *L'Ātman-Brahman...*, p. 150, n. 5.
13. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 80; *On the Brahman in Buddhist Literature, loc. cit.*, p. 5.
14. *Abhidharmadīpa with Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti*, Patna, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1960, « Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series », vol. IV.
15. Cf. *L'Ātman-Brahman...*, p. 109, n. 2.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 97, n. 6; 124, n. 3.
17. Ed. Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923.
18. *L'Ātman-Brahman...*, pp. 7, 69 et n. 2.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 3 et suiv.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 66. Cf. aussi *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, éd. S. Lévi, Paris, 1907, XI, 47, commentaire.
21. *L'Ātman-Brahman...*, p. 66.
22. Nous ne discuterons pas ici du problème de l'attribution de cette *Vṛtti* à Bhartṛhari lui-même, ou à un auteur différent, nommé Harivṛṣabha.

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Brahman) » (*prāptivikalpāḥ*), *sarvātmanā nairātmyam* « négation complète de l'*ātman* ». K. A. Subramania Iyer[23] écrit: « This may be the view of the *Mādhyamika* Buddhists »; mais il signale aussi: « But Vṛṣabha who seems to consider the ten views as being only ten aspects of the grammarian's conception of *mokṣa* explains *nairātmya*, not as the negation of the Self, but as its extreme indefinability and inexpressibility ». L'explication de Vṛṣabha[24] rappelle, à n'en pas douter, la terminologie bouddhique[25]: nairātmyam *iti*: *naiḥsvābhāvyam, brahmasvabhāvasya nirūpayituṃ vaktuṃ cāśakyatvāt. brahma ity api tattvam ity api rūpavigamāt, grāhyagrāhakavigamād vā iti* « *nairātmya*: le sens est: absence de nature-propre, puisqu'il est impossible de déterminer la nature-propre du *brahman* et d'en parler. Il y a, en effet, [en lui,] cessation de la nature "*brahman*" ainsi que de la nature "vérité" (*tattva*); ou bien encore: il y a [en lui] cessation du sujet et de l'objet ».

VI. SUR LE MOT *NIGADYA* DANS LA *VIGRAHAVYĀVARTANĪ* DE NĀGĀRJUNA

Dans la *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, kārikā XXIV[26], Nāgārjuna emploie la forme non-pāṇinéenne *nigadaya*: *viśeṣahetuś ca na nigadyaḥ*. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, dans son édition, corrige le mot en *nigādya*, conformément à Pāṇini III, 1, 100. Vu l'état du manuscrit, il est évidemment difficile de dire si Nāgārjuna lui-même a employé ce mot, ou s'il s'agit simplement d'une erreur de scribe. L'emploi le plus ancien de *nigādya* que nous relevions en littérature est Bhāmaha, *Kāvyālaṃkāra* I, 11: *sarvathā padam apy ekaṃ na nigādyam avadyavat*[27]. Les dérogations à la règle en question de Pāṇini ne sont pas rares, cependant. Ainsi, le fameux *(vi)niyamya* (à la place de °*yāmya*), sous la plume de Patañjali

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23. *Bhartṛhari: A Study of the Vākyapadīya in the light of the Ancient Commentaries*, « Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series », 68, Poona, 1969, pp. 140-141.

24. *Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari with the Commentaires Vṛtti and Paddhati of Vṛṣabhadeva*, Kāṇḍa I, edited by K. A. Subramania Iyer, « Deccan College Monograph Series », 32, Poona, 1966, p. 23.

25. Cf. *L'Ātman-Brahman...*, p. 97 et nn. 5 et 6; p. 124. Voir aussi *The Dialectical Method of Nāgārjuna* (Vigrahavyāvartanī). Translated from the original Sanskrit with Introduction and Notes by Kamaleswar Bhattacharya. Text critically edited by E. H. Johnston and Arnold Kunst, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1978, Translation, p. 51.

26. *The Dialectical Method of Nāgārjuna...*, Translation, p. 19; Text, p. 26.

27. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, dans le *Śabdakaustubha*, vol. II, Benares, Chowkhamba, 1929, p. 404, cite *Naiṣadhīyacarita* III, 93: *na naiṣadhe kāryam idaṃ nigādyam*. Cf. encore *ibid.*, IX, 69. Ce sont aussi les seules références que donnent les dictionnaires modernes.

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lui-même [28]. On connaît l'attitude des grammairiens anciens devant de tels emplois: d'aucuns les considèrent comme des leçons négligées (*pramāda-pāṭha*) [29]; d'autres, cependant, les justifient [30].

VII. NÉGATION DANS LE MADHYAMAKA

Le problème de la négation dans le Madhyamaka a fait l'objet de plusieurs études, de points de vue divers. Cependant, certains faits — considérés comme essentiels par les Mādhyamika eux-mêmes — ne semblent pas avoir retenu l'attention.

Tout d'abord: les Mādhyamika nient-ils quoi que ce soit? « Non », disent-ils.

Les objections — pertinentes — des logiciens (Naiyāyika) contre ce qui paraît être une négation dans la doctrine de la Vacuité (*śūnyatā*) sont fidèlement rapportées par Nāgārjuna lui-même, dans la *Vigrahavyāvartanī*. Si, comme le dit Nāgārjuna, « toutes les choses sont dépourvues de nature-propre » (*niḥsvabhāvāḥ sarvabhāvāḥ*) ou « les choses n'ont pas de nature-propre » (*nāsti svabhāvo bhāvānām*) ou « toutes les choses sont vides » (*śūnyāḥ sarvabhāvāḥ*), cet énoncé doit être « dépourvu de nature-propre » (*niḥsvabhāva*), « vide » (*śūnya*), lui aussi. Mais alors, comment un énoncé vide peut-il nier les autres choses vides? Si cette négation est valide, l'énoncé en question n'est pas vide. Mais, dans ce cas, toutes les choses ne sont pas vides, puisque cet énoncé, qui est inclus dans toutes les choses, n'est pas vide [31]. D'autre part, selon les logiciens, une négation n'est significative que lorsqu'elle porte sur une entité réelle, non quand elle porte sur une entité fictive. Dans ces conditions, si la négation de la « nature-propre » (*svabhāva*) des choses, chez Nāgārjuna, a un sens, elle ne fait que prouver cette même nature-propre qui est niée [32].

Nāgārjuna reconnaît le bien-fondé de ces objections. Bien plus, dans les *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, son œuvre principale, il appuie souvent sa

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28. *The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali*, edited by F. Kielhorn, third edition by K. V. Abhyankar, Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. III, 1972, p. 183.10 et suiv.: *ślokavārttika* 3 et *Bhāṣya* sur Pāṇini VI, 4, 12-13. Śaṅkara écrit, *Bhāṣya* sur *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad* II, 1: *evaṃ satyādiśabdā itaretarasaṃnidhāv anyonyaniyamyaniyāmakāḥ santaḥ satyādiśabdavācyāt tannivartakā brahmaṇo lakṣaṇārthāś ca bhavanti...*

29. Ainsi Haradatta, *Padamañjarī* sur III, 1, 100.

30. Ainsi Puruṣottamadeva, *Bhāṣāvṛtti* sur III, 1, 100; Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, *Siddhāntakaumudī*, 2848. Les diverses vues sont résumées dans le *Śabdakaustubha*, *loc. cit.* Cf. Śaraṇadeva, *Durghaṭavṛtti*, avec les notes de L. Renou, *La Durghaṭavṛtti de Śaraṇadeva: Traité grammatical en sanskrit du XIIe siècle*, édité et traduit par Louis Renou, Paris, 1940-1956.

31. *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, kārikā et vṛtti I et II, Text, pp. 10-12; Translation, pp. 5-7 et notes: cf. ci-dessus n. 25.

32. *Ibid.*, XI-XII, Text, pp. 18-19; Translation, pp. 12-13 et notes.

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propre argumentation sur le principe des logiciens, à savoir: une négation n'est pas possible sans que l'objet à nier soit réel. Candrakīrti explicite cela dans son commentaire *Prasannapadā* [33]. Seulement, Nāgārjuna ne nie rien, parce qu'il n'y a rien à nier [34]. L'énoncé « Toutes les choses sont dépourvues de nature-propre » ou « Les choses n'ont pas de nature-propre » a pour fonction, dit-il, de « faire connaître l'absence de nature-propre dans toutes les choses » [35], parce qu'elles sont naturellement « vides de nature-propre » (*svabhāvaśūnya*), étant donné qu'elles naissent sous la dépendance de causes et de conditions (*pratītya-samutpanna*) [36].

La négation, chez Nāgārjuna, n'est donc destinée qu'à dissiper l'erreur des gens qui voient une « nature-propre » dans les choses alors qu'il n'y en a pas. Autrement dit, elle n'a qu'une valeur thérapeutique — comme le précise Candrakīrti dans son commentaire sur *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, XV, 11 [37].

VIII. MADHYAMAKA ET GRAMMAIRE

On a opposé la méthode grammaticale de la philosophie indienne à la méthode mathématique de la philosophie occidentale. « Adhérer à la pensée indienne, c'est d'abord penser en grammairien », écrivait Louis Renou [38]. Nous avons montré ailleurs [39] comment, à la différence de Zénon d'Élée, Nāgārjuna, dans le second chapitre des *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, fonde ses arguments contre le mouvement sur des concepts grammaticaux. Ce genre d'argumentation se rencontre aussi dans d'autres chapitres de *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*. Cependant, cette orientation de Nāgārjuna n'apparaît pas clairement dans les traductions modernes. Candrakīrti, dans son commentaire *Prasannapadā*, fait res-

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33. Cf. *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, XXVII, 28:
antavac cāpy anantaṃ ca prasiddham ubhayaṃ yadi /
siddhe naivāntavat kāmaṃ naivānantavad ity api //
et *Prasannapadā*:
pratiṣedhyasya vastuno 'saṃbhavāt pratiṣedhasyāpy asaṃbhava iti. ato 'ntavattve cānantavattve cobhayasminn apratīte kasya pratiṣedhena naivāntavān nānantavān loka iti dṛṣṭisaṃbhavaḥ syād iti.

34. *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, kārikā et vṛtti LXIII, Text, pp. 47-48; Translation, p. 41: *na caivāhaṃ kiṃcit pratiṣedhayāmi, yasmān na kiṃcit pratiṣeddhavyam asti* (vṛtti).

35. *Ibid.*, kārikā et vṛtti LXIV, Text, pp. 48-49; Translation, p. 42: *sarvabhāveṣu svabhāvasyābhāvaṃ jñāpayati* (vṛtti).

36. Cf. *ibid.*, kārikā et vṛtti XXII, Text, pp. 23-24; Translation, pp. 17-18; LIII, Text, p. 61; Translation, p. 35; LXVI, Text, pp. 49-50; Translation, p. 43.

37. *Prasannapadā*, pp. 273.12-274.4 dans l'édition de L. de La Vallée Poussin.

38. *L'Inde classique*, II, Paris-Hanoi, 1953, p. 86, § 1519.

39. *Nāgārjuna's Arguments against Motion: Their Grammatical Basis*, « Gaurinath Sastri Felicitation Volume », à paraître.

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sortir les concepts grammaticaux implicites chez Nāgārjuna. Mais les traducteurs modernes se trompent dans l'interprétation de Candrakīrti également [40].

Puissent bouddhisants et sanskritistes joindre leurs efforts pour établir une édition [41] et une traduction définitives des *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* et de la *prasannapadā* — un des plus beaux textes de la philosophie indienne.

40. Cf. article cité dans la note précédente.
41. Cf. J. W. De Jong, *Textcritical Notes on the Prasannapadā*, IIJ, 20, 1978, pp. 25 et suiv.

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MADELEINE BIARDEAU

ŚAKUNTALĀ DANS L'ÉPOPÉE

L'histoire de Śakuntalā, dans le *Mahābhārata*, constitue un épisode d'étendue limitée (I, 68-74 dans l'édition de la Citrashala Press de Poona à laquelle on se réfèrera ici) et nettement séparé de ce qui précède et de ce qui suit: c'est en I, 64 qu'est évoqué le massacre des *kṣatriya* par Rāma Jāmadagnya et que l'on décrit les événements postérieurs, nouvel âge d'or, détérioration du fait des asura qui naissent sur terre, et décision de Viṣṇu et des dieux de descendre parmi les hommes pour rétablir l'ordre. Le ch. 67 donne la liste des correspondances entre les personnages humains de l'épopée et leurs contreparties divines et démoniques. A l'autre bout, en I, 75, on aborde la geste de Yayāti qui, logiquement, devrait venir avant Śakuntalā, puisque Duṣyanta et son fils Bharata sont des Paurava, c'est-à-dire des descendants de Pūru, le plus jeune fils de Yayāti, l'ancêtre des protagonistes de la grande bataille[1]. Désordre sans doute, et peut-être composition étalée dans le temps. Peu importe: on notera plutôt que Rāma Jāmadagnya, dont l'histoire commande tout un cycle temporel, est ce brâhmane dont la grand-mère paternelle et la mère étaient des princesses, et dont toute la geste est dominée par le mélange des *varṇa* qui a présidé à sa naissance. Quant au roi Yayāti, il épouse d'abord une brâhmane, qui sera l'ancêtre de Kṛṣṇa entre autres, puis une *kṣatriyā* qui, elle, sera à l'origine de la dynastie royale des Kaurava par son fils Pūru. Nouveau mélange de *varṇa*, et le thème en est appuyé, bien conscient, comme dans le cas de Jāmadagnya.

On sait par ailleurs à quel point le *varṇasaṅkara* est un motif obsédant du texte épique, d'autant plus omniprésent qu'il recoupe ce qu'il faudrait appeler le motif du *dharmasaṅkara*, le mélange des *dharma* propres à chaque « classe » ou « ordre » — *varṇa* —, et plus particulièrement aux brâhmanes et aux *kṣatriya*. Ce que cherche à dire l'épopée,

1. Sur l'ordre de succession de ces épisodes, voir les différentes traditions des manuscrits dans l'édition critique, *Ādiparvan*, p. 282.

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à travers le récit de crises du monde récurrentes provoquées par tant de mélanges, c'est précisément que chaque *varṇa* a ses devoirs propres et ses perspectives propres de salut dans l'exercice de ses devoirs, et ne doit pas vouloir imiter l'autre: le brâhmane épique a la tentation de capter quelque chose du pouvoir temporel et de la richesse d'un roi, tandis que le *kṣatriya* lorgne la puissance sacerdotale du brâhmane ou la toute-puissance spirituelle de l'ascète. Le problème ainsi posé en termes d'« histoire » est en fait celui de la complémentarité délicate, jamais parfaitement réalisée, entre le brâhmane et le *kṣatriya*. Les récits qui encadrent l'épisode de Śakuntalā pourraient donc bien donner le ton à ce dernier: pour le saisir dans son contexte épique, cela constitue une aide précieuse, car il nous faut oublier pour cela la Śakuntalā de Kālidāsa et le visage dramatique que lui confère l'épisode hypertrophié de la reconnaissance.

Le roi Duṣyanta règne sur la terre entière, et la société qu'il gouverne traverse une ère de bonheur, caractérisée par l'absence de *varṇasaṅkara* (68, 6), par le fait que tous les *varṇa* s'adonnent à leur *dharma* propre (68, 9 et 11), n'ont rien à désirer ni à redouter. Le roi est fort comme Viṣṇu, resplendissant comme le Soleil, etc. Quoique le mot ne soit pas prononcé, on est en plein *kṛtayuga*, dans un âge d'or.

Cependant le roi va à la chasse dans la forêt, escorté d'une armée complète et accompagné jusqu'à un point donné par ses sujets de la capitale et des villages (69, 13-15). Il désire chasser du gibier et arrive dans une forêt d'aspect paradisiaque (69, 17), au sol très rocailleux toutefois, vide d'êtres humains et privée d'eau. Il y fait avec fracas un grand carnage de fauves, d'antilopes et d'oiseaux; la forêt est bouleversée de fond en comble et les animaux fuient à la débandade: ils ne trouvent rien à manger ni à boire et les chefs de leurs troupeaux sont tués. Des chasseurs se repaissent de leur chair, mais des éléphants sauvages (d'où viennent-ils dans cette forêt sans eau?), furieux, écrasent des hommes dans leur fuite. Le roi pénètre alors dans une autre forêt pour continuer à chasser: il était parti « avec le désir de tuer du gibier » (69, 13), il est maintenant poussé *mṛgaprasaṅgena*, « par la passion du gibier » (70, 1). Mais il a lui aussi faim et soif et la fatigue l'accable: signe qu'il n'a pas tué pour se nourrir. Il traverse cette nouvelle forêt (ou la première?), puis un grand désert, et atteint enfin un autre lieu boisé, pourvu de tous les charmes que peuvent décrire les clichés les plus usés de la poésie sanskrite: fleurs, fruits, brise fraîche, oiseaux mélodieux, abeilles butinantes, parfums. Des *siddha* et des *cāraṇa*, des singes et des ours, des muni et des ascètes — *yati* — circulent sur les bords d'une rivière délicieuse, la Mālinī, qui traverse entre autres l'ermitage du *ṛṣi* Kaṇva Kāśyapa. Duṣyanta se croit d'abord dans le *devaloka* (70, 23), mais c'est plutôt d'un *brahmaloka* qu'il s'agit (70, 36 et 49), car le lieu résonne de la récitation des *Veda* et tous s'affairent à des tâches sacrificielles.

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Le roi se sépare de son armée et ne garde avec lui que son chapelain et son ministre pour avancer; il se dépouille de tous les insignes de la royauté. Puis il pénètre seul dans l'ermitage de Kaṇva, désireux de rencontrer l'illustre brâhmane. Celui-ci est momentanément absent, mais une jeune fille, belle comme Śrī quoique vêtue comme une ascète — *tāpasī* —, l'accueille et lui rend les honneurs de l'hospitalité, le priant d'attendre son père. Duṣyanta s'étonne: Kaṇva, cet ascète réputé pour sa continence, a donc une fille?

Śakuntalā — car c'est elle — lui raconte alors l'histoire de sa naissance: le redoutable *ṛṣi* Viśvāmitra pratiquait un tapas si intense qu'Indra dans le ciel craignait pour son trône. Le roi des dieux appelle alors l'*apsaras* Menakā à son aide pour anéantir les mérites de l'ascète. Celle-ci est particulièrement effrayée, car la réputation de Viśvāmitra n'est plus à faire: elle énumère devant Indra tous ses exploits de *kṣatriya* qui a décidé d'accéder au statut de brâhmane (71, 27-39), et exige, pour accomplir sa mission dangereuse, l'aide du Vent et de Manmatha (une forme de Kāma). Indra, qui s'est adressé à elle comme à la première des *apsaras* (71, 22), lui accorde ce qu'elle demande. La scène est classique: Menakā s'approche du *ṛṣi* et « joue » devant lui; au moment propice, le vent écarte son vêtement qu'elle fait mine de rattraper. Visvāmitra, sans doute poussé par l'invisible Manmatha, la voit et s'enflamme immédiatement pour la belle *apsaras* (72, 7). Il s'ébat longuement avec elle. Śakuntalā en est le fruit. Mais l'enfant est abandonnée à sa naissance sur les bords de la Mālinī, et Kaṇva l'y recueille alors qu'elle est protégée par des oiseaux — *śakuna* —; d'où son nom de Śakuntalā.

Duṣyanta à son tour tombe immédiatement amoureux de la jeune fille et la demande en mariage sans tarder et sans souffrir aucun retard à leur union: point n'est besoin d'attendre le retour de Kaṇva. Si elle est d'accord, le mariage à la manière *gāndharva* est recommandé pour les *kṣatriya* et il peut être consommé sur-le-champ. Śakuntalā y met une condition: le fils qui naîtra de leur union devra être l'héritier présomptif du royaume. Son vœu est accordé: Duṣyanta enverra une armée pour la chercher avec son fils. Lorsque Kaṇva rentre à l'ermitage, Duṣyanta est reparti, mais le père sait tout sans que la fille ait à lui avouer ce qui s'est passé. Il la félicite et bénit sa descendance.

L'enfant qui naît alors acquiert en six ans une force extraordinaire. Il maîtrise les bêtes sauvages, et l'entourage de Kaṇva l'appelle *sarvadamana*, « celui qui dompte tout (être vivant) ». Kaṇva décide qu'il est temps d'envoyer le jeune prince à son père avec sa mère et les fait escorter par ses disciples. Ceux-ci, arrivés au palais, repartent immédiatement, laissant Śakuntalā et son fils se présenter au roi. Mais l'accueil de Duṣyanta est décevant: il feint de ne pas se rappeler l'épisode de l'ermitage et la promesse faite à Śakuntalā (74, 19-20). La jeune femme doit retenir le feu de son *tapas* pour ne pas en brûler le prince. Elle invoque le témoignage des dieux célestes et même celui du *puruṣa*

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intérieur qui habite Duṣyanta (74, 29, 31) fait l'éloge des épouses et des fils. Enfin elle rappelle sa propre histoire et son statut: elle est fille de Viśvāmitra et de Menakā, cette apsaras *brahmayoni*, « née de Brahmā », ou « de naissance brahmanique » (74, 69). Sans doute doit-elle à une faute antérieure les abandons dont elle est victime en cette vie. Elle retournera donc à l'ermitage, mais elle laissera son fils au roi. Duṣyanta n'en veut pas: il ne reconnaît pas plus l'un que l'autre. Il blâme les parents de Śakuntalā, sa mère qui l'a abandonnée « comme un *nirmālya* » (74, 74), et son père, ce *kṣatrayoniḥ... brāhmaṇatve lubdhaḥ*, ce « fils de *kṣatriya* désirant avidement la brâhmanité » (74, 75), et l'accuse elle-même de se comporter en courtisane; elle n'a pas à invoquer sa naissance illustre, car elle n'est qu'une enfant de l'amour, *yadṛcchayā kāmarāgāt* (74, 80). Śakuntalā répète encore plus nettement qu'elle est supérieure à Duṣyanta par la naissance (74, 83), et que, tandis qu'il doit se contenter de la terre, elle se déplace dans les airs et fréquente les demeures des dieux gardiens des quatre points cardinaux à l'instar de sa mère (74, 84-85).

Quand elle quitte la salle d'audience, une voix d'en haut affirme en présence de tous les brâhmanes de l'entourage du roi que Śakuntalā a dit la vérité. Ce qui suffit à Duṣyanta pour changer immédiatement de conduite: il n'attendait que ce témoignage céleste, car la parole d'une femme ne peut s'authentifier elle-même (74, 122-123). On pense à la Sītā du *Rāmāyaṇa*. L'enfant s'appellera Bharata et sera un grand roi victorieux (*cakravartin* et *sārvabhauma*) et pieux. Il célèbrera un sacrifice de cheval de type *govitata* (74, 126-130), où Kaṇva sera son principal officiant.

Avant d'analyser ce récit, notons ce qui a pu être à l'origine de son introduction dans l'épopée: le *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (XIII, 5, 4, 11-14), évoque le roi Bharata Dauḥṣanti [2] qui a célébré des *aśvamedha* sur les bords de la Yamunā et de la Gaṅgā, ce qui l'institue *ipso facto* roi du Doab, de ce *madhyadeśa* qui représente le lieu le plus valorisé par l'épopée, le centre des centres. Tout le contexte a certainement été une source d'inspiration pour les auteurs épiques, puisqu'on y trouve, toujours en rapport avec les rites de l'*aśvamedha*, mention des Pāñcāla et d'un roi Mātsya appelé Dhvasan Dvaitavana. Mais ici le lien du texte à l'histoire de Śakuntalā et Bharata reçoit une confirmation presque directe: en XIII, 5, 4, 19, le roi Śatānīka Sātrājita célèbre un sacrifice *govinata*, qui serait une variété d'*aśvamedha* (de même *ibid.*, 22). Le texte épique a repris ce détail en l'attribuant à Bharata et en estropiant

2. C'est là l'explication de la forme reconstruite qu'a adoptée l'édition critique du MhBh au mépris de la tradition manuscrite: on y renvoie pour cela à un article de WINTERNITZ, « Indian Antiquary » 27, 1898, *On the South-Indian Recension of the Mahabharata*, p. 136, *Ādiparvan*, p. 282. En revanche, lorsque Bharata Dauṣyanti est mentionné dans le MhBh en VII, 68, l'édition critique, qui rejette tout le passage en appendice, ne restitue plus la forme Dauḥṣanti mais garde Dauṣyanti, p. 1112. Il est vrai que l'« éditeur » n'est pas le même pour les deux volumes.

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le nom qui devient *govitata*[3]. On sait le lien de Kaṇva au Yajurveda Blanc. Quant à Śakuntalā, elle est connue du *brāhmaṇa* (*ibid.*, 13) comme la mère de Bharata, mais aucune allusion n'est faite à son histoire personnelle qui serait peut-être une création épique.

Création épique, elle mérite certes de l'être, car les thèmes obsédants du MhBh y sont présents et fournissent la charpente du récit, comme on peut le montrer en mettant à nu ses articulations logiques:

I. *Duṣyanta règne pendant un âge d'or. Puis, déclin:*

A) Il va à la chasse avec son armée dans une forêt paradisiaque privée d'êtres humains et d'eau.
Il y fait un carnage de bêtes sauvages, au point que la forêt se vide du reste de ses habitants, qui ne trouvent rien à manger ni à boire. La forêt brille des torrents de flèches qui se déversent.
D. accablé de fatigue, de faim et de soif, cherche une autre forêt pour chasser encore. Il traverse un désert.

B) D. arrive dans une forêt charmante et peuplée d'ascètes, où se trouve l'ermitage de Kaṇva Kāśyapa sur les bords de la rivière Mālinī. Il se croit au *brahmaloka*.
Il y entre seul, ayant dépouillé tous les insignes de la royauté.

II. *Rencontre de Duṣyanta et Śakuntalā*

A) Récit de la naissance de Śakuntalā:
Indra craint le *tapas* de Viśvāmitra, ce *kṣatriya* qui veut se faire brâhmane.
Il lui envoie Menakā, la première des *apsaras* (elle est *brahmayoni*), pour le tenter.
Union de Viśvāmitra et Menakā.
Naissance de Śakuntalā. Abandonnée par sa mère, protégée par des *śakuna*.

B) Ś. est recueillie par le *ṛṣi* Kaṇva qui l'élève comme une brâhmane ascète.
Le roi Duṣyanta l'épouse à la manière *gāndharva*. Ś. a posé comme condition que leur fils serait l'héritier du royaume.

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3. Curieusement l'édition critique garde ici la forme *govitata*, quoique un nombre important de mss., dont le *śāradā*, donne *govinata*. Si l'on rapproche ŚB XIII, 5, 4, 19 et 22, il semble que le *govinata* soit une forme de sacrifice de cheval célébrée quand un roi est parvenu à s'emparer du cheval sacrificiel d'un autre roi, ici celui de Kāśī. Le même texte, *ibid.*, 21, ajoute que de la même manière, Bharata — le nôtre — s'est emparé du cheval des Satvat. Il a donc pu logiquement célébrer un *govinata*. Ce thème de l'*aśvamedha*, on le sait, n'est pas sans incidence sur le développement de l'intrigue épique, plus particulièrement sur le déroulement de la guerre, où Arjuna tue Jayadratha le Saindhava, tenant ainsi en échec l'*aśvamedha* symbolique de Duryodhana, cf. *Annuaire* de l'EPHE-Sciences religieuses, T. 86, p. 148.

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Kaṇva bénit cette union.
Naissance de Bharata. A six ans, il est plus fort que tout le monde. Kaṇva l'envoie à son père.

III. *Śakuntalā et Bharata à Hāstinapura*

A) Duṣyanta feint de ne pas reconnaître Śakuntalā.
Celle-ci insiste sur la supériorité de son statut brahmanique et céleste par rapport au roi.

B) Intervention d'une voix d'en haut. Duṣyanta reconnaît alors la mère et l'enfant.

Conclusion: Bharata devient un monarque universel.

Au niveau le plus superficiel de la narration, la naissance de Śakuntalā en II, A, se présente comme un récit « enchâssé » dans le récit principal, et l'on a déjà pu vérifier ailleurs que des récits apparemment secondaires dont l'épopée est truffée, loin d'être ce que l'on appelait naguère des interpolations, sont la reprise sous une autre forme symbolique du message dominant du récit principal, qu'ils aident ainsi à déchiffrer tout en contribuant à la progression de l'intrigue[4]. La naissance de Śakuntalā ne fait pas exception à la règle: il est clair d'emblée que le thème du mélange des *varṇa* en commande le récit. Le seul personnage de Viśvāmitra, dont le symbolisme est rappelé par Menakā dans l'énumération de ses exploits, est l'une de ses plus puissantes incarnations. Le nouvel épisode qu'ajoute à son histoire la rencontre avec Menakā ne fait que renforcer l'image de ce *kṣatriya* avide d'accéder au statut de brâhmane. Si son *tapas* inquiète tellement Indra, ce n'est pas que le *tapas* soit le fait d'un renonçant et mette par là le monde qu'il refuse en danger. D'autres *ṛṣi* pratiquent le même *tapas* — Bharadvāja, Vyāsa, pour ne citer que des exemples épiques majeurs — sans pour autant susciter de remous dans le ciel des dieux, même s'ils reçoivent aussi la visite d'une *apsaras* qui les transforme en géniteurs. Le *tapas* ne devient dangereux que lorsqu'il est le fait d'un désir désordonné, asurique souvent, comme l'est celui de Viśvāmitra qui veut violer les limites les plus inviolables de la société brahmanique. Quant au choix de l'*apsaras* Menakā, il n'est pas quelconque: première des nymphes,

4. Cf. par exemple *Annuaire* de l'EPHE-Sciences religieuses, T. LXXXV, 1978, p. 148 sq. à propos du schéma grand-père / petit-fils. On retrouve ici une structure mise en lumière par les théoriciens du conte, mais il n'est pas sûr qu'elle ne prenne pas dans l'épopée une dimension d'une autre portée: en première approximation et sans prétendre saisir le fait avec l'acuité d'un spécialiste des formes narratives, tout se passe comme si la chaîne syntagmatique du récit, à cause de son extrême complexité, devait constamment puiser dans un fonds paradigmatique pour enrichir les détours de l'intrigue et multiplier les clés donnant accès à son message. L'épopée et le conte se distingueraient ainsi en particulier par l'importance relative donnée au signifiant et au signifié.

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elle a statut de brâhmane. Lorsqu'elle se présente à Viśvāmitra, jouant et jouet du Vent, elle n'est autre que la projection de son désir, le *brahman* fait femme avec lequel il peut s'unir: sa « chute », la perte des mérites de son *tapas* est inscrite dans la structure même de la rencontre des deux personnages.

A première vue, Indra a gagné. Est-ce tout à fait sûr cependant? Les conditions de la naissance de Śakuntalā montrent le contraire. Sans doute, dans l'immédiat, la royauté d'Indra se trouve dégagée de la menace que faisait peser sur elle le *tapas* incendiaire de Viśvāmitra. Mais c'est au prix d'un *varṇasaṅkara* dûment perpétré sur terre par l'ascète et la nymphe, et même d'un mélange *pratiloma*, dans le mauvais sens, puisque la femme est de statut supérieur à l'homme: cette faute contre le *dharma* est à la mesure même du péché que constitue le désir de brahmanité du prince Viśvāmitra. Aussi est-il logique de voir la petite fille issue de cette union abandonnée à sa naissance[5] et protégée par des oiseaux appelés d'un nom générique mais à connotation funeste: *śakuna*. Śakuntalā en tire son propre nom, selon le récit, ce qui est contraire à la règle bien connue selon laquelle un nom de femme doit toujours avoir un sens bénéfique qui l'apparente à Śrī, à la beauté, à la fortune. Ce *kṣatriya* pécheur et la nymphe qui l'a renvoyé à son péché en en délivrant le cosmos ont peut-être fait à la terre un cadeau empoisonné. Śakuntalā est le produit du *kṣatra* défaillant, occupé à tout autre chose qu'à gouverner le royaume, elle est la terre abandonnée sans protecteur, orpheline parce que sans roi. On sait par d'autres récits qu'en ce cas le *brahman* doit se porter au secours de la terre: ce sera le rôle de Kaṇva.

La naissance de Śakuntalā est donc une des multiples formes que prend la crise socio-cosmique lorsque l'ordre normal des *varṇa* est transgressé. Vu à partir de là, le début de l'épisode tel qu'il est décrit en I A prend un sens très voisin. Le royaume des Paurava (qui sera bientôt celui des Bhārata, mais la capitale est déjà Hāstinapura) connaît au début un âge d'or. Quand le roi Duṣyanta part pour la forêt avec armes et bagages sous prétexte de chasser, on a le droit d'être inquiet: il ne s'agit pas d'un de ces divertissements passagers qui sont le privilège des princes. Son peuple l'escorte comme dans une cérémonie d'adieu (on évoque le départ de Rāma Dāśarathi en exil dans le *Rāmāyaṇa*). La forêt où il commence à chasser est étrange: elle est comme un jardin paradisiaque, mais privée d'êtres humains et d'eau. Le paradis est sans doute le souvenir de l'époque heureuse qui se termine, tandis que la sécheresse et l'absence d'êtres humains d'une part, l'abondance de gibier d'autre part, évoquent un lieu et une période hostiles à l'homme, comme le début d'un *pralaya* où toutes les créatures disparaissent par dessèchement progressif. On n'est plus dans le temps du

5. Sans doute faudrait-il faire un sort à la rivière Mālinī sur les rives de laquelle se déroule la scène. C'est la rivière qui arrose l'ermitage de Kaṇva. Il y a sûrement plus à en dire, et son association à une *apsaras* n'épuise pas non plus sa signification.

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dharma, ce que précise la description du carnage inconsidéré auquel se livre le roi dans cette forêt, au point d'y faire le vide complet. La déroute même des bêtes sauvages constitue pour le prince un péché[6] et signifie une catastrophe pour le *dharma*, donc pour la terre. La fatigue, la faim et la soif qui accablent alors le roi, le désert qu'il doit traverser, n'ont pas d'autre signification. Derechef un prince a quitté ses fonctions pour la forêt: la chasse s'y substitue au *tapas*, mais pour le royaume le résultat est le même. Et l'assistance du *brahman* au *kṣatra* défaillant se profile à l'horizon quand Duṣyanta arrive dans la forêt charmante et peuplée d'ascètes où se trouve l'ermitage de Kaṇva.

La naissance de Śakuntalā insérée dans l'histoire de la rencontre de la jeune fille et du prince reçoit ainsi une double fonction: le départ inopiné du roi parfait d'une capitale heureuse pour une chasse désastreuse serait la répercussion à l'échelle de la terre (le royaume symbolisant toujours la totalité du monde humain) de la conduite désordonnée de Viśvāmitra — la naissance s'inscrit alors dans la chaîne syntagmatique. En même temps, elle fournit une nouvelle variante du désordre des valeurs, plus explicite que la première, puisqu'il s'agit encore d'un *kṣatriya* qui abandonne son royaume et cherche à atteindre un statut supérieur. La relation entre les deux événements est alors d'ordre paradigmatique. On n'est donc pas surpris de voir en I B et II B l'homologie se continuer jusqu'à la fusion des deux séquences en une: l'arrivée du roi épuisé et seul, dépouillé de ses insignes royaux, à l'ermitage du *ṛṣi* brâhmane Kaṇva est une sorte de « prise de refuge » du *kṣatra* dans le *brahman*. L'adoption de Śakuntalā par le même Kaṇva en II B est la résultante de l'abandon par Viśvāmitra de sa fonction royale et du plaisir qu'il prend avec la fonction brahmanique faite femme. La rencontre de Duṣyanta et de Śakuntalā réunit alors les deux séries de faits sous l'égide du brâhmane ascète Kaṇva.

Aussi bien la rencontre des deux jeunes gens se fait-elle sous les meilleurs auspices. Alors même que la bénédiction du brâhmane plane

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6. On pense aux Pāṇḍava dans la forêt qui, en III, 36, sous l'impulsion de Vyāsa et en III, 258, à cause d'un songe de Yudhiṣṭhira, quittent le Dvaitavana pour ne pas épuiser ses réserves de gibier. Ces deux mouvements ont bien entendu d'autres motivations plus profondes dont la paix des bêtes sauvages n'est que le symbole. Mais il n'est pas sans intérêt de noter que ce mystérieux Dvaitavana (que l'épopée oppose à la forêt Kāmyaka) est repris de *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, XIII, 5, 4, 9, où un roi Mātsya (!) appelé Dhvasan Dvaitavana offre un *aśvamedha*. C'est en XIII, 5, 4, 11, rappelons-le, que Bharata Dauḥṣanti est mentionné. Dans le MBh, le Dvaitavana est associé à l'idée de destruction des bêtes (comme en écho au nom du roi Dhvasan). Par ailleurs, on ne saurait oublier qu'une destruction de ce style peut avoir une face positive — on serait tenté de dire: doit en avoir une —, comme tout autre événement. Le rapprochement avec l'incendie de la forêt Khāṇḍava par Arjuna et Kṛṣṇa, I, 222 sq., s'impose: le brusque départ de Duṣyanta pour la chasse correspond secrètement à un plan du *daiva*, comme la destruction du Khāṇḍava et de ses habitants est motivée par la « maladie » d'Agni. Cf. M. BIARDEAU, *The story of Arjuna Kārtavīrya without reconstruction*, in « Purāṇa », vol. XII, no. 2, juillet 1970, p. 295 sq.

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sur la scène, comme on le voit ensuite, il en est absent; la protection paternelle qu'il a offerte à Śakuntalā est finalement ce qui va donner un regain de vigueur au jeune *kṣatriya*... en lui permettant de s'unir à une brâhmane, et qui plus est à une brâhmane ascète. Les données du problème n'ont apparemment guère changé puisque le mariage *gāndharva* de Duṣyanta et de Śakuntalā en II B consacre un nouveau mélange des *varṇa pratiloma*, analogue à celui de Viśvāmitra et Menakā. En réalité, c'est le sens de l'événement qui s'est inversé: Duṣyanta, en épousant Śakuntalā, retrouve implicitement sa fonction royale, puisqu'il accepte de faire du fils qui naîtra l'héritier de son royaume. L'enfant — le futur Bharata — recevra de Kaṇva les sacrements appropriés à sa condition de *kṣatriya*. En désirant Śakuntalā, il recherche le secours du *brahman*; en l'épousant, il assure le renouveau de son royaume et de sa dynastie.

On ne saurait minimiser l'importance dans ce *brahman* sauveur de la composante ascétique. Kaṇva est un vrai renonçant, Śakuntalā a été élevée comme une *tāpasī*. On a là aussi un motif récurrent de l'épopée, fondamental même pour les protagonistes du conflit, puisque le brâhmane ascète Vyāsa doit — par obéissance à sa mère — se substituer à son demi-frère mort, le *kṣatriya* Vicitravīrya, pour lui donner une descendance en s'unissant à ses femmes. Les Kaurava et les Pāṇḍava sont ses petits-fils [7]. Entre Śakuntalā et l'*apsaras* Menakā, il y a donc toute la différence que met l'Inde entre le *mokṣa* et le *kāma*, dans une perspective où la *bhakti* introduit plus de complémentarité que de contradiction entre les deux: sans Menakā (et Viśvāmitra), il n'y aurait pas de Śakuntalā. Dans ce balancement s'insère la totalité de la vision cyclique hindoue, où l'ensemble du cosmos, et plus près de nous les hommes, le monde du *dharma*, passent éternellement par des phases de nuit et de jour, de crise et de renouveau, de destruction et de renaissance. De même que la cosmogonie première, à l'origine d'un *mahākalpa*, commence par un acte de yoga de la divinité suprême [8], de même au niveau de cette crise que décrit l'épisode de Śakuntalā, la composante ascétique est nécessaire au redépart du monde. C'est elle qui inverse le sens du *varṇasaṅkara* et transforme la naissance d'une petite fille maudite en une bénédiction pour le monde. Bien entendu, cela n'est possible que parce qu'il s'agit de l'ascèse d'un et d'une brâhmanes, que leur statut qualifie pour cela.

Aussi bien les auteurs épiques ont-ils été pleinement conscients de cette anomalie — mais toute cosmogonie doit être « anomale » par définition, puisqu'elle doit se donner de quoi faire fonctionner un système dont les éléments n'existent pas encore. C'est le sens du segment III du mythe. Duṣyanta avait promis à Śakuntalā de l'envoyer chercher

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7. Le rôle que joue Vālmīki, le brâhmane ascète, auteur du *Rāmāyaṇa* (comme Vyāsa est l'auteur supposé du MBh), auprès de Sītā et de ses enfants rejetés par Rāma dans l'*Uttarakāṇḍa* du *Rāmāyaṇa*, est tout à fait analogue.

8. Cf. *Etudes de mythologie hindoue I*, BEFEO, T. LIV, p. 40.

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avec son fils et de la faire escorter jusque dans sa capitale par son armée, c'est-à-dire comme une reine symbolisant le royaume bien protégé. Rien de cela ne se passe. Au bout de six ans, l'enfant est plus fort que tous[9] et Kaṇva prend sur lui de l'envoyer à Hāstinapura avec sa mère, sous la garde de ses disciples, brâhmanes ascètes ou tout au moins *brahmacārin*. Dans le long plaidoyer de Śakuntalā devant Duṣyanta, il y a d'une part l'éloge de la condition du maître de maison pourvu d'une épouse et d'un fils, que doit être obligatoirement un roi, d'autre part la réitération de son statut à elle. Elle insiste moins alors sur l'aspect ascétique que sur le statut brahmanique: sa mère peut difficilement passer pour un modèle de *tapas* et son père détruit les mérites du sien en s'unissant à elle; et ce n'est pas non plus comme *tapasvin* qu'elle-même peut être reine. Elle passe aussi sous silence le rôle de Kaṇva — que l'on retrouve ensuite comme principal officiant de Bharata —, mais l'allusion au renoncement est remplacée par un autre trait de sa défense: grâce à sa mère, elle se meut librement entre ciel et terre et fréquente les dieux gardiens des points cardinaux. Elle est donc liée à l'ordre du monde[10] malgré le mauvais sort qui a semblé présider à sa naissance. Même si alors l'ascétisme est mis entre parenthèses, c'est lui qui a permis le renversement des valeurs si difficile à comprendre dans le cadre du *dharma* ordinaire, celui des *varṇāśrama*.

Tout ce plaidoyer de la brâhmane n'aurait aucun effet si le ciel ne s'en mêlait, le ciel ou du moins l'une de ces voix invisibles qui, dans les mythes hindous, sont les plus sûres messagères du *daiva*: cette voix n'est pas seulement la preuve que Śakuntalā a dit la vérité — cela ne constitue que le sens premier —, elle est garante du dessein divin qui sous-tend toute l'histoire, elle est le sceau de l'Absolu qui préside aux cycles socio-cosmiques. Tel un conte, le mythe finit bien, et le fils du prince Duṣyanta et de la brâhmane-nymphe[11] Śakuntalā est l'immortel ancêtre de la dynastie lunaire dont l'Inde actuelle porte encore le nom: Bharata. La roue du *dharma* tourne à nouveau, jusqu'à son prochain détraquement. Il en va ainsi dans le MBh jusque dans la phase cen-

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9. Le nombre 6 est toujours «marqué» dans les naissances, réelles ou mythiques. La déesse Ṣaṣṭhī (« la Sixième » ou « le Sixième Jour ») préside au sixième jour qui suit la naissance de tout enfant. Le passage de ce cap est particulièrement important, quel que soit son sens. Dès le MBh, le dieu Skanda atteint sa taille adulte en six jours et, sous le nom de Subrahmaṇya dans le sud de l'Inde, sa fête intervient un sixième jour de la lune.

10. C'est bien entendu l'aspect positif majeur de l'*apsaras* Menakā, et sans doute de toutes les *apsaras*. Etant donné la complémentarité que présentent *apsaras* et *gandharva* (voir le mariage *gāndharva* de Śakuntalā), on peut supposer aux premières un certain rapport à la fonction royale. Sur les *gandharva*, cf. *EMH V*, BEFEO, T. LXV, p. 180.

11. Śakuntalā ne semble avoir rien retenu dans son statut de la naissance *kṣatriya* de son père. Mais ses malheurs mêmes, comme elle le remarque, trahissent sans doute son mauvais *karman* passé. Pour nous, ils sont plutôt l'expression du *karman* de ses parents.

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trale du mythe épique. Les générations qui précèdent celle des protagonistes, et dont les poètes ont dû progressivement enrichir l'histoire, sont le miroir qui éclaire le récit de la guerre par la répétition indéfiniment variée du même message. C'est toujours par les femmes que s'introduit un élément étranger ou de désordre dans une dynastie qui doit rester ininterrompue (Devayānī, Śakuntalā, les deux Satyavatī, Ambā, Kuntī..., mais les femmes sont aussi les médiatrices obligées de la restauration du bon ordre (derechef Devayānī, Śakuntalā, etc.): le Puruṣa reste immobile face à sa Śakti qui ne cesse de manifester les phases de son yoga, et ce n'est pas le moindre paradoxe que, sous des formes sans cesse renouvelées par le mythe, elle soit associée à l'ascétisme de son seigneur et maître.

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SH. BIRA - O. SUKHBAATAR

ON THE TIBETAN AND MONGOLIAN TRANSLATIONS OF SANSKRIT GRAMMATICAL WORKS

The Tibetan and Mongolian translations of Sanskrit grammatical works is merely one side, but a substantial one, of the great deal of translation carried out over hundreds of years of the enormous literary and scientific heritage of ancient and medieval India from Sanskrit into Tibetan and Mongolian. Tibet had played a leading role in inheriting, keeping the cultural and scientific achievements of India and disseminating them into Asia. It could be compared to those countries of the East, which, as is known, during the period of Arab domination, had been playing an active role in the transmission of a great deal of Indian cultural and scientific values into the West. It is characteristic that almost at the same time when Buddhism and the Buddhist culture had gone into a decline in their motherland under the blow of the recently risen Islam, the Arabs and Tibetans from both sides of India actively seized upon Indian cultural and scientific achievements. It is thanks to the Arabs and Tibetans that a great number of literary and scientific works of ancient and medieval India have been secured for the following generations and become the heritage of peoples in the countries of East and West.

It seems to us necessary alongside the study of the Sanskrit literature itself, to undertake a comprehensive investigation of translations of Sanskrit literary and scientific works into different languages of the world, in particular, into the Tibetan and Mongolian languages, since a significant number of those works have not been preserved in the original.

The Tibetan translations of Sanskrit works are of great interest to us for they have, in their turn, served as a pattern for translations into other languages, particularly into Mongolian.

Grammar books by Indian authors make up a notable part of the Tibetan and Mongolian translations of scientific works from Sanskrit.

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The acquaintance of the Tibetans with the achievements of ancient Indian linguistics goes back to the remote period of YII-YIII centuries A.D.

As is well known, the famous Thon-mi Sam-Bhoṭa who had studied in India after being summoned by king Sroṅ-btsan sGam-bo on his return created the Tibetan character after the model of the Indian script of Nāgari. He wrote eight grammatical works but only two of them are extant to our days.

Thus Thon-mi Sam-Bhoṭa could be considered the founder of the linguistic school in Tibet. However, it is not known whether he dealt with the translation of Sanskrit grammatical treatises. It is also unknown whether the Tibetans compiled and translated any grammatical works after Thon-mi Sam-Bhoṭa up to the XIII century. According to the Tibetan sources known to us it has been ascertained that an enormous and intensive amount of work on the study and translation of Indian linguistic treatises had recommenced thanks to the efforts of Sa-skya paṇḍita Kun-dGa' rGyal-mTshan (1182-1251), as well as the great hereditary translators, Śon-sTon rDo-rJe rGyal-mTshan (XIII century), dBaṅ-sTon bLo-gRos brTan-pa (1276-1342), the nephew of the last dBaṅ Lo-tsā-ba Byaṅ-Chub rTse-mo, Yar-kLuṅs Lo-tsā-ba Grags-ba rGyal-mTshan who was the nephew of dBaṅ Lo-tsā-ba Byaṅ-Chub rTse-mo, the well known scholar Bu-sTon Rin-Chen-Grub (1290-1364) and others. It is not necessary to say much about the well-known Sa-skya paṇḍita Kun-dGa' rGyal-mTshan. It should simply be stated that he was one of the first Tibetans of that period who studied in India, learnt all the wisdom of the traditional education and obtained the highest academic rank of the paṇḍita by mastering the « Five great sciences ». He was a celebrated linguist and, having learnt the Sanskrit language perfectly, wrote the well-known grammatical work « sgra la 'jug šes bya ba'i bstan bčos ». The work « mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo » was the one of his philological compositions in which the author, above all, made an apt and creative comparative study of the Tibetan and Sanskrit languages similar to modern methods of comparative linguistics.

The date of life of Śoṅ-sTon rDo-rje rGyal-mTshan is uncertain. But judging by the fact that he was the eldest brother of dBaṅ-sTon bLo-gRos brTan-pa (1276-1342) and a contemporary of the distinguished 'Phags-pa bLo-gRos rGyal-mTshan (1235-80), we believe that he lived and worked in the XIII century. For five years he lived in Nepal and mastered the five lesser sciences-grammar, lexicology, poetics, prosody, and astrology. He especially studied the science of grammar.

He translated several treatises from Sanskrit into the Tibetan language including *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. He also introduced the study of Sanskrit grammar, prosody and lexicology in Tibet [1].

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1. The Blue Annals, translated by George N. Roerich, Part two, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1953, pp. 784-85.

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dBaṅ-sTon bLo-gRos brTan-pa, the youngest brother of Śoṅ-sTon rDo-rǰe rGyal-mTshan, visited Nepal seven times and studied poetics, Sanskrit grammar, astrology, logic and so on. Thoroughly he also learnt the Prākṛita language from the *ācārya* whom he chanced to meet. From a time he became a great translator [2]. In his childhood dBaṅ-Lo-tsā-ba Byaṅ-Chub rTse-mo became a disciple of his distinguished uncle dBaṅ-sTon bLo-gRos brTan-pa and mastered the basic sciences of that period including the Sanskrit language. He was famous for being a great learned translator [3].

The translation activity of dBaṅ-Lo-tsā-ba Byaṅ-Chub rTse-mo was taken up by his nephews -Yar-kLuṅs Lo-tsā-ba Grags-ba rGyal-mTshan and translator Nam-mKha' Zaṅ-po [4].

There is no need whatever to write much about the celebrated Tibetan scholar Bu-sTon Rin-Chen-Grub [5]. We only note that he played a prominent role in the creation of the Tibetan Danjur and composed its valuable catalogue which, in particular, contains interesting data on early Tibetan translations and translators of Sanskrit grammatical treatises.

The translations done by the above-mentioned two scholars- Śoṅ-sTon rDo-rǰe rGyal-mTshan and dBaṅ-sTon bLo-gRos brTan-pa should be related to the earliest Tibetan translations of Sanskrit grammatical treatises. In the Tibetan Danjur of the Derge edition we have found the following translations by them. These are:

1. *Candravyākaraṇasūtra* (Tib. Luṅ ston pa Tsandra pa'i mdo [6]. The translation from Sanskrit was done by Śoṅ-sTon rDo-rǰe rGyal-mTshan, the author is Candragomin. Subsequently the translation was checked and edited by dBaṅ-sTon bLo-gRos brTan-pa.

2. *Tyādyamṭasyaprakṛiyābiǰaritanāma* (Tib. Ti la sogs pa'i mtha'i bya ba rnam par dpyad pa žes bya ba) [7]. The work was translated by Śoṅ-sTon rDo-rǰe rGyal-mTshan. In the colophon he mentions Mahā paṇḍita Śri Maṇika and the expert in grammar and logic bSod nams bZaṅ-po who probably helped him with the translation.

3. *Saṃbandha uddeśa nāma* (Tib. 'bral pa mdor bstan pa) [8]. dBaṅ-sTon bLo-gRos brTan-pa translated this work, as he wrote, relying on the help of Śoṅ-sTon rDo-rǰe rGyal-mTshan.

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2. *Id.*, pp. 786-87.
3. About him, see. The Blue Annals, Part two, pp. 787-89.
4. On these translators, see. The Blue Annals, Part I, 281, 379, vol. II, pp. 411, 639, 658, 700, 788, 791-92, 837, 979, 1047-48, 1050.
5. In detail, see, Part I, pp. 60, 150, 217, 304, 331, 338.
6. Danjur, Derge edition, T.RE, 194, pp. 1r-29r.
7. Danjur, T.ŚE, 196, pp. 97v-235r.
8. *Id.*, pp. 69r-71r.

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4. *Adhikārasgrahanāma* (Tib. spyir btaṅ ba yaṅ dag par bstus pa žes bya ba) [9]. This work was translated by dBaṅ-sTon bLo-gRos brTan-pa in Nepal.
5. *Vibhakti kārikā* (Tib. rnam dbye'i tshig le'ur byas ba) [10]. It was translated by dBaṅ-sTon bLo-gRos brTan-pa on the instructions of bLa-ma Dam-pa Chos-kyi rGyal-po, who should be recognized as the well-known Phags-pa bLa-ma bLo-gRos rGyal-mTshan (1235-80) [11], and in accordance with the oral explanations of the Nepalese *paṇḍita* dBals-dBaṅ bZaṅ-po (Ketu Indra Bhadra?).
6. *Tinânta* (Tib. Tiṅga'i mtha') [12] was translated in Nepal by dBaṅ-sTon bLo-gRos brTan-pa.
7. *Kalāpasūtra* (Tib. Ka-lā-pa yi mdo) [13] was translated by dBaṅ-sTon bLo-gRos brTan-pa with reference to the commentary on *Durga-siṃha-vṛitti* [14].
8. *Syadyanta prakṛiyā* (Tib. Si la sogs pa'i mtha'i bya ba) [15] was translated by dBaṅ-sTon bLo-gRos brTan-pa in the monastery of the great and famous country of Nepal.

dBaṅ lo-tsā-ba Byaṅ-Chub rTse-mo translated Kalāpavṛitti śishyahehanāma (Tib. Ka-lā-ba'i mdo'i 'grel pa ñun du las slob ma la phan pa žes bya ba) [16].

Yar-kLuṅs lo-tsā-ba Grags-ba rGyal-mTshan translated the commentary on the *sūtra Kalāpasūtranāmavṛitti* [17], and Nam-mka' Zaṅpo *Kalāpa uṇādi sūtra* (Tib. Ka-lā-ba'i un la sogs ba'i mdo) [18] as well as the *Uṇādivṛitti* (Tib. Un la sogs pa'i 'grel pa) [19].

Bu-sTon Rin-Chen-Grub translated two works:

Dhātukāya (Tib. Byiṅs kyi tshogs) [20] and *Kalāpasūtravṛitti* (Tib. Ka-lā-ba'i 'grel pa). The latter is mentioned in the catalogue of Danjur

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9. Danjur, T.RE, 194, pp. 38v-46v.
10. Danjur, T.RE, 194, pp. 46v-65r.
11. In fact, dBaṅ -sTon bLo-gRos brTan-pa was born 4 years before the death of Phags-pa bLa-ma. Taking into account, however, Phags-pa bLa-ma's close relation with his elder brother Śoṅ-sTon rDo-rje rGyal-mTshan, it could be assumed that the translation of the work has a direct or indirect relation to the great initiator of translations of Sanskrit books in Tibet.
12. Danjur, T.RE, 194, pp. 65r-69r.
13. Danjur, T.LE, 195, pp. 2v-19v.
14. Concerning the Durga-siṃha's commentary Zaya paṇḍita Lubsangprenglei, 1642-1715, of Khalkha gives to us a great interesting information: the first 12 chapters from Durga-siṃha's work were translated by dBaṅ-sTon bLo-gRos brTan-pa, and the work in whole was translated by Bu-sTon Rin-po che. About the latter see below.
15. Danjur, T.ŚE, pp. 1v-54r.
16. Danjur, T.LE, 195, pp. 31v-63r. In the Mongolian Danjur exists one more work *Sūtradhātu* (Mong. γool-un sudur), T. 220, pp. 529r-536v, translated by dBaṅ lo-tsā-ba Byaṅ-Chub rTse-mo. But the work is not found in the corresponding volumes of the Tibetan Danjur.
17. Danjur, T.LE, 195, pp. 21v-31v.
18. Mongolian Danjur, T. 220, pp. 537r-541v.
19. Mongolian Danjur, T. 220, pp. 541v-599r.
20. Danjur, T.LE, 195, pp. 63r-75r.

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compiled by Bu-sTon Rin-Chen-Grub himself. We could not find it in the Derge edition of the Tibetan Danjur.

As writes J. Tucci, in the XY-XYI centuries there was a new flow of Indian *paṇḍitas* into Tibet and this contact with Indian scholars renewed the tradition of the ancient lo-tsā-ba and inspired a growing interest in the study of Sanskrit which had been for a long time slackened [21]. It should be added that this tradition has been continued in the course of the following centuries. One have to mention the translations of the great interpreter from Shalu, Dharma-Pāla-Bhadra (Tib. Chos-Kyoṅ bZaṅ-po, 1441-1528) who, as is known, was a notable linguist and wrote the fundamental grammar of the Tibetan language: « rtogs kyi 'jug pa'i dka' gnad sñin po rab gsal gyi 'grel pa mtha' dpyod dans śel me loṅ ».

The following translations were made by him:

1. *Saṃbandhasiddhyabhidhānapṛakriyā* (Tib. 'brel pa grub pa žes bya ba'i rab tu byed pa) [22]. In the colophon the translator presents the information that this work was written by Ñi-ma'i sÑin-po (Skr. Sūryahṛidaya or Sūryagarbha?) and translated again from the manuscript belonging to the translator Gyag-sdre.
2. *Uṇādivṛitti* (Tib. Un la sogs pa'i 'grel pa) [23]. In the colophon of his translation the translator writes that this work was composed by Candragomin.
3. *Ashṭasāhasrika vṛitti mañjuśri śabda vyākaraṇa* (Tib. 'jam dpal gyi sgra brda sprod pa'i 'grel pa stoṅ phrag brgyad pa)[24]. In the colophon the translator writes that this work was written by Kīrtti.
4. *Tyatyantsyaprakriyāpādarohana nāma* (Tib. Ti la sogs pa'i mtha'i bya ba tshig gsal ba žes bya ba) [25]. The translator in the colophon says that this work was written by dGa'ba'i Grags-pa (Skr. Nandakīrtti) and translated on the instructions of Bu-sTon Rin-Chen-Grub from the Sanskrit manuscript (rgya dpe) belonging to dPyal lo-tsā-ba Chos-kyi bZaṅ-po.

Particular attention should be payed to the translations of the great translator of the XYII century 'Dar-ba lo-tsā-ba Ñag-dBaṅ Phun-Tshogs Lhun-gRub who is also known as Tshe-dBaṅ Rab-brTan rDo-rje.

According to the information presented by 'Dar-ba lo-tsā-ba in the colophon to one of his works which he wrote in the Earth-Dog year (1658) when he was 25 years old, we would date his birth as 1634 [26]. We have no information on his death. However he was the contem-

21. G. Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls*, vol. I, pp. 137.
22. Danjur, T.RE, 194, pp. 78v-86r.
23. Danjur, *id.*, pp. 86r-142r.
24. Danjur, T.RE, 194, pp. 142v-278r.
25. Danjur, T.PO, 212, pp. 1v-70r.
26. Danjur, T.TO, 208, pp. 452r.

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porary and disciple of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ṅag-dBaṅ bLo-bZaṅ rGya-mTsho (1617-82) who, being a connoisseur of Sanskrit and a great propagator of Sanskrit studies in Tibet, wrote a wonderful commentary on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*. As J. Tucci wrote, the Fifth Dalai Lama sent to India Gokula, a *paṇḍita* from Benares, to invite to Tibet his elder brother Bāla-Bhadra. The latter taught Pāṇinivyākaraṇa to the lo-tsā-ba of Dar-ba, who made the translation and the Tibetan edition of that work. This lo-tsā-ba was a so proficient in the study of Sanskrit that when the Dalai Lama thought of editing the *Avadānakalpalatā* and it was found that in the available copy some Sanskrit portions were missing, he attempted to reconstruct them, in the original[27]. It is interesting to note that before starting the translation of Pāṇini 'Dar-ba lo-tsā-ba, as he wrote, had thoroughly studied the Pāṇini grammar. He did this with the help of the great Indian *paṇḍita* Bāla-Bhadra from the cast of Brahmans, born in Guru Kshetra (Northern India), as well as of his brother, *paṇḍita* Gokula Nātha Mishra, and wrote all the explanations that he got from these *paṇḍitas* down in the form of a broad commentary under the title of « Pā-ṇini vyā-ka-ra-na gzuṅ'grel gyi go don cho ga dper brǰod sogs rig zig tu bkod pa legs bśad nor bu 'dren pa'i śin rta »[28].

The following translations were made by 'Dar-ba lo-tsā-ba:

1. *Pāṇinivyākaraṇasūtra* (Tib. brda sprod pa Pā-ṇi-ni'i mdo)[29]. As it says in the colophon, this work was translated by 'Dar-ba lo-tsā-ba Ṅag-dBaṅ Phun-Tshogs Lhun-gRub in the Earth-Dog year (Sa-khyi), i.e. in 1658 in the monastery of 'Bras-sPuṅs. The translator enjoyed the good will of *paṇḍita* Bāla-Bhadra and of the Fifth Dalai Lama and used the commentary by the great *ācārya* Rāma Candra.

2. *Sarasvatīvyākaraṇasūtra* (Tib. brda sprod dbyaṅs čan gyi mdo)[30]. It is clear from the colophon that 'Dar-ba lo-tsā-ba was a disciple of the Fifth Dalai Lama and with the assistance of the above-mentioned two Indian brothers-Bāla-Bhadra and Gokula Nātha Mishra he translated this work.
3. *Sarasvatīvyākaraṇasūtravṛitti* (Tib. brda sprod pa'i bstan bčos chen po dbyaṅs čan bya ba)[31]. The author of this work was Anubhūti Svarupa.

A brief reference should be made to the translation of Pāṇini. It is rather hard to explain why the Pāṇini grammar had not been translated earlier at a time when no less intensive work was being carried out on

27. G. Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls*, vol. I, pp. 137.
28. Danjur, T.TO, 208, pp. 27v-452r.
29. Danjur, T.TO, 208, pp. 1v-27r.
30. Danjur, T.SE, 197, pp. 1v-10r.
31. Danjur, T.SE, 197, pp. 11v-125r.

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the translation of Sanskrit grammatical compilations. The famous work of Pāṇini which had marked the birth of linguistic science in ancient India was translated, as it was said above, only in 1658. Until this period Tibetan translators limited themselves to translations of commentaries on the main sūtra.

The Pāṇini grammar in the Tibetan translation consists of 39 parts and the title of each part is listed at the end of the *sūtras* (aphorisms). Though the translation is mainly word for word in several place we come across highly skillful rendering of the precise meaning of *sūtras*. The aphoristic brevity that reached the stage of algebraical formulae is very characteristic of Pāṇini's work and this has been transmitted with all its pecularities. This is a witness to the great skill of the Tibetan translator who perceived the subtle shade of meaning of each *sūtra* of Pāṇini. At the same time it should be taken into consideration that Pāṇini was translated into a language completely different from Sanskrit, namely Tibetan. It is evident that working on the translations the Tibetan translator had good assistance from the above-mentioned two Indian brothers to whom he addresses especial gratitude in the colophones to his translations.

To confirm what has been said above concerning the quality of the Tibetan translation of the Pāṇini grammar we give the following examples:

The original	*Tibetan translation*
1. *Liṭi dhātoranabhyasasya* (A. 6.1.8) *	Lit la byin abhya-sa ma yin no (Danjur, T. 208,16 v).
2. *Huśnuvoḥ sarvadhātuke* (A. 6.4.87)	Hu-snu dag gi byin thams čad la'o (T. 208,18 r).
3. *Uṇādayī bahulaṃ* (A. 3.3.1)	Un a sogs rnams mań po la'o (26 r).
4. *Ikoḥ savarṇaśākalyasya hasvaccha* (A. 6.1.127)	I-ka gi 'dra ba ma yin pa la sa-kalya-kyi thuń du yan na'o (2 v).
5. *ātau ṇalaḥ* (A. 7.1.34)	āt las nal au'o (17 v).
6. *Halantyaṃ* (A. 1.3.3)	ha yig la sogs pa rnams la yig brǰod pa'i don no (1 r).
7. *kriyādibhyaḥ śnā* (A. 3.1.81)	krī la sogs rnams las śnā'o (20 r).
8. *Stanbhu stumbhu skambhu skumbhu skuñbhyaḥ śnuśca* (A. 3.1.82)	stambhu stumbhu skuñc rnams las rnams las śnu la'n no (20 r).
9. *utaśca pratyayādasaṃyoga-pūrvāta* (A. 6.4.106)	rkyen ut las kyan brtsegs pa dan po ma yin pa las so (18 r).

* Reference to Pāṇini edition *Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, voll. I, II, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna, 1962, is indicated in this work in the following manner: A. 6.1.8., where A-means *Ashṭādyāyī*, 6-the sixth book of *Ashṭādhyāyī*, 1- the first part of the book, 8- the number of the sūtra, or rules.

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10. *Parasmaipādanām ṇalatusasthalathusaṇalvanāḥ* (A. 3.4.82) — Pa-ra-smai-pa-da rnams kyi nal a-thus-us-thal a-thus-a nal-ba-ma rnams so (16 v).
11. *Pushādityutādyulṛiditaḥ parasmaipadeshu* (A. 3.1.55) — Push-la sogs parnams dan tyuta la sogs pa rnams dan li 'gro ba las pa-ra-smai-pa-da rnams la'o (18 r).
12. *Mukhanāsikavacano anunāsikaḥ* (A. 1.1.8) — kha sna nas brǰod pa dag rǰes su sna ldan no (1 r).

It could be said that with the translations by 'Dar-ba lo-tsā-ba the great activity on the translation of Sanskrit grammatical works was in the main completed.

In our estimation, in all more than 30 Sanskrit grammatical works were translated into Tibetan language and were included in six volumes of the Danjur. It should be especially stressed that there are not a few works among them which have not remained in their originals, have even been forgotten in India itself and are still unknown to the contemporary world of science. In such works we include the following:

1. *Varṇasūtranāma* by Candra (Candragomin) (Tib. yi ge'i mdo žes bya ba) [32].
2. The commentary on this *sūtra Varṇasūtravṛitt* (Tib. yi ge'i mdo'i 'grel ba) [33] was written by the great lobon Chos-sKyoṅ (Skr. *ācārya* Dharma-Pāla) [34].
3. *Jatakamālasyapañcaka* (Tib. skyes pa'i rabs kyi rgyud kyi dka' 'grel) [35] written by Vīrya-Siṃha.
4. *Vacanamukhayudhopamanāma* (Tib. smra ba'i sgo mtshon cha lta bu žes bya ba) [36]. Paṇḍita Dran-pa Ye-śe Grags-pa (Skr. Smarajñānakīrtti?) was the author.
5. The work of the same author *Vacanamukha yudhopama nāma vṛitti* (Tib. smra ba'i sgo mtshon cha lta žes bya ba'i 'grel pa) [37].
6. *Sarvabhāshapravartana vyākarana śāstra* (Tib. smra ba kun la 'ǰug ba'i sgra'i bstan bčos) [38] by Subhāsha Kīrtti.

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32. Danjur, T.RE, 194, pp. 34r-34v.
33. *Id.*, pp. 34v-38v.
34. We reconstructed the great lobon (slob-dpon chen-po) Chos-sKyoṅ as Mahācārya Dharma-Pāla We assume that he is the scholar *ācārya* Dharma-Pāla, about whom I -Tsing, a great Chinese pilgrim-traveller, who visited Nalanda in VII A.D. informed in his time. According to the information of the latter Dharma-Pāla wrote some grammatical works, but, as Rāma Suresha Tripathi writes, all these works have not reached to the present-day. RĀMA SURESHA TRIPATHI, *Sanskrit linguistics*, Delhi, 1972, pp. 28, in Hindi.
35. Danjur, T.PO, 212, pp. 275r-312v.
36. Danjur, T.ŚE, 196, pp. 277v-281v.
37. Danjur, T.ŚE, 196, pp. 282r-303r.
38. Danjur, T.ŚE, 196, pp. 235v-236r.

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7. *Saṃbandha siddhyabhidhāna prakriyā* (Tib. 'brel pa grub pa žes bya ba'i rab tu byed pa) [39]. The author was lobon Ñi-ma sÑin-po (Skr. Sūryahṛidaya or Sūyargarbha?).

8. *Tyatyantayaprakriyāpādarohanāma* (Tib. Ti la sogs pa'i mtha'i bya ba tshig gsal ba žes bya ba) [40] by dGa'-ba'i Grags-pa (Skr. Nanda Kīrtti?).

Turning to the Mongolian translation of Sanskrit grammatical works it should be noted that all of them were made from the Tibetan translations considered above and were included into the relevant volumes of the Mongolian Danjur. The Mongolian translations represent the latest versions of the transation of Sanskrit grammatical works into oriental languages. These translations were mainly made in the XVIII century when a great deal of work was being carried out on the translation of the Tibetan Danjur into the Mongolian language. This does not at all mean that the Mongols did not know the grammatical works of Pāṇini and his followers before that period. The historical facts show that in XIII-XIV centuries the grammar of the Mongolian written language was worked out under the strong influence of the Indo-Tibetan linguistic school which originated from Pāṇini. The first Mongolian grammar by Choiji-Odser (XIV century) and its following commentaries are a witness to the application of the basic conceptions of the teachings of Pāṇini and of his Indian, as well as his Tibetan followers to the elaboration of the grammar of the Mongolian language (definition of the consonants and vowels, classification of sounds according to the principles of the Five mahabhutis, the eight-case declension and so on). Here we are not speaking about numerous Mongolian grammatical terms which were worked out almost entirely on the basis of Sanskrit terminology and a number of which became firmly entrenched into the Mongolian language as translation loan-words.

We know very little about the Mongolian translators who translated Sanskrit grammatical works from Tibetan. But in the light of the colophones to the Mongolian translations it is obvious that there were few of them. Those are:

1. Dai güüs darqan siregetü Agvang-dampil (Tib. Ňag-dBaň bsTan-'Phel, 1700-80) from the khoshun (province) of beil Sonombaljir, Zegün-Abaγa-nar aimak.

2. Biligtü güüsi Lubsang-Ligden (Tib. bLo-bZaň Legs-lDan), younger brother of the above-mentioned translator.

3. Sumatiśila * (Mong. Lubsang-chultum, disciple of Raqu -khutugtu, born in 1694-...?).

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39. Danjur, T.RE, 194, pp. 78v-86r.
40. Danjur, T.PO, 212, 1v-70r.
* Also known under the Tibetan name of bLo-bZaň Tshul-Khrims.

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These translators translated quite a number of volumes belonging to the grammatical part of Danur. This proves that Sanskrit grammatical works were translated into Mongolian during the period when the Tibetan Danjur was being translated into Mongolian by the best translators gathered together from all parts of Mongolia.

It should be mentioned that the translator of the Pāṇini grammar, including the above said commentary of 'Dar-ba lo-tsā-ba, was Sumatiśila who also translated numerous other grammatical works listed in the 224 -th volume of Danjur.

At present we are working on a critical analysis of the old Mongolian translation of Pāṇini on the basis of the Sanskrit original and the Tibetan translation with a view to issuing a new edition of the Mongolian translation of the Pāṇini grammar.

SUPPLEMENT — A list of the Sanskrit grammatical treatises included in the Tibetan Danjur of the Derge edition.

Tomus, RE, 194

1. *Candra vyākaraṇa sūtra* (Tib.Luṅ ston pa Tsandra-pa'i mdo), 1r-29r.
2. . . . . ? (ṅes bar sgyur ba ni pa'i 'grel pa žes bya ba), 30v-33v.
3. *Varṇa sūtra nāma* (Yi ge žes bya ba), 34r-34v.
4. *Varṇa sūtra vṛitti* (Yi ge'i mdo'i 'grel ba), 34v-38v.
5. *Adhikāras graha nāma* (Spyir btan ba yan dag par bsdus pa žes bya ba), 38v-46v.
6. *Vibhakti kārika* (Rnam dbye'i tshig le'ur byas ba), 46v-65r.
7. *Tinânta* (Tiṅga'i mtha'), 65r-69r.
8. *Saṃbandha uddeśa* ('bral pa mdor bstan pa), 69r-71r.
9. *Dhātukāya* (Byiṅ kyi tshogs), 71r-78v.
10. *Saṃbandha siddhyabhidhāna prakriyā* ('brel pa grub žes bya ba'i rab tu byed pa), 78v-86r.
11. *Uṇādi vṛitti* (Un la sogs pa'i 'grel pa), 86r-142r.
12. *Ashṭa sāhasrika vṛitti mañjuśri śabdha vyākaraṇa* ('Jam dpal gyi brda sprod pa'i grel pa stoṅ phrag brgyad pa), 142v-278r.

Tomus, LE, 195

13. *Kalāpa sūtra* (Ka-lā-ba'i mdo), 2v-19v.
14. *Kalāpa sūtra vṛitti* (Ka-lā-ba'i mdo'i grel pa), 21v-31v.
15. *Kalāpa laghu vṛitti śishyaheha nāma* (Ka-lā-pa'i pa ñun du las slob ma la phan pa žes bya ba), 31v-63r.
16. *Dhātu kāya* (Byiṅ kyi tshogs), 63r-75r.
17. . . . . ? (Luṅ ston pa Ka-lā-pa'i mdo'i 'grel pa slob ma la phan pa kun thob bo žes pa'o), 75v-337r.

Tomus, SE, 196

18. *Syadyanta prakriyā* (Si la sogs pa'i mtha'i bya ba), 1v-54r.
19. *Kalāpa sūtra saṃbandha syadi vibhakti prakriyā* (Ka-lā-pa'i mdo daṅ 'brel pa'i si la sogs pa'i rnam dbye'i bya ba), 54v-97r.
20. *Tyādyamṭasyapraxṛiyābiǰaritanāma* (Tib. Ti la sogs pa'i mtha'i bya ba rnam par dpyad pa žes bya ba), 97v-235r.
21. *Sarva bhāsha pravartana vyākaraṇa* (Smra ba kun la 'jug ba'i sgra'i bstan bčos), 235v-236r.
22. *Sarva bhāsha pravartana vyākaraṇa śāstra sya vṛtti* (Smra ba kun la 'jug pa'i sgra'i bstan bčos kyi 'grel pa), 236r-244r.
23. *Prayoga mukha vṛtti* (rab tu sbyor ba'i sgo'i 'grel pa), 244r-250v.
24. *Binda nivartana nirdosha kārika* (ldog pa bsdus pa bstan pa'i tshig le'ur byas ba), 250v-277r.

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25. *Vacana mukha yudhopama nāma* (smra ba'i sgo mtshon cha lta bu žes bya ba), 277v-281v.
26. *Vacana mukha yudhopama nāma vṛtti* (smra ba'i sgo mtshon cha lta bu žes bya ba'i 'grel pa), 282r-303r.

Tomus, SE, 197

27. *Sarasvatī vyākaraṇa sūtra* (brda sprod dbyaṅs čan gyi mdo), 1v-10r.
28. *Sarasvatī vyākaraṇa sūtra vṛitti* (brda sprod pa'i bstan bčos chen po dbyaṅs čan byā-ka-ra-na'i 'grel pa rab tu bya ba gsal ldan žes bya ba žugs so), 11v-125r.

Tomus, TO, 208

29. *Pāṇini vyākaraṇa sūtra* (brda sprod pa Pa'a-ni-ni'i mdo), 1v-27r.
30. Tib. Pa-a-ni-ni byā-ka-ra-na gžuṅ 'grel gyi go don cho ga dper brjod sogs rig žig tu bkod pa legs bšad nor bu 'dren pa'i šin rta žes bya ba, 27v-452r.

Tomus, PO, 212

31. *Tyatyant sya prakriyā pādarohana nāma* (Ti la sogs pa'i mtha'i bya ba tshig gsal ba žes bya ba), 1v-70r.
32. *Candra vyākaraṇa varṇa sūtra* (Luṅ ston Tsandra-pa'i yi-ge'i mdo).
33. *Candra vyākaraṇa varṇa sūtra nāma vṛtti* (Luṅ ston pa Tsandra-pa'i yi-ge'i mdo'i 'grel pa), 265v-270r.
34. *Jataka māla sya pañcaka* (skyes pa'i rabs kyi rgyud kyi dka' 'grel), 275r-312v.

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J. L. BROCKINGTON

VĀLMĪKI'S PROVERBS

Professor Sternbach has made the study of proverbial literature peculiarly his own. This attempt at an assessment of the proverbial elements in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is offered in homage to his efforts [1].

Naturally enough, in view of its nature, the *Rāmāyaṇa* contains less in the way of gnomic utterances than the *Mahābhārata* does especially in its didactic portions. I have noted 135 occasions when such material is found, representing more than a hundred separate sayings, but over forty consist of citations in anthologies only, which means that there are approximately seventy paralleled in the older literature. The great majority of these occur in the *Mahābhārata* [2], almost half in the *Śānti-parvan* but with significant numbers also in the *Udyoga*, *Anuśāsana* and *Vana parvans* (several of course appear in more than one book); over a third of these do not occur in other Sanskrit texts, so far as I have been able to establish. Only sixteen are found in the *dharmaśāstra* literature, of which just three are not paralleled in the *Mahābhārata*. One exception is found in a late part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (2 App. I.29.1-5, read by some only of the Northern mss.) and has undoubtedly been borrowed from the *dharmaśāstra* tradition. However, none of the parallels with Manu is ascribed to that sage in the text in the way that

1. I am naturally greatly indebted to Professor Sternbach's many publications on the subject, too numerous to list. I have also drawn on Otto Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, 2te Auflage, 3 vols., St. Petersburg, 1870-73, with the *Supplement* by L. Sternbach, Wiesbaden, 1965, and E. W. Hopkins, *Proverbs and Tales Common to the Two Sanskrit Epics*, AJPh 20, 1899, pp. 22-39. This article supersedes the brief treatment in my earlier article, *Stereotyped Expressions in the Rāmāyaṇa*, JAOS 90, 1970, pp. 210-27.

2. To be exact, 52 out of a total of 72 are found in the *Mahābhārata* also; this roughly doubles the « altogether twenty-odd separate proverbs which are nearly identical in the two epics », together with some longer passages, noted by Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

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Hopkins describes for the later *Mahābhārata*[3]. The one exception cited by Hopkins, who considered it late, occurs in the Critical Edition at 4.397* 2, *śrūyate manunā gītau ślokau cāritryavatsalau*, read by the Southern recension before the proverbs at 4.18.30 and 398* which form the other two exceptions.

Twenty-seven sayings are paralleled in the *kathā* literature, of which exactly a third are not found also in the *Mahābhārata*; five of these (2.34.25, 56.10, 109.23, 5.2.37 and 6.12.15) occur in the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and no doubt were borrowed thence either directly or indirectly, but four (2.610*, App.I.23.97-8, 3.1017* and 6.1584* 3-4) come from its latest stages and thus there is the possibility that these were taken by the redactors of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the *Pañcatantra* in an early form. Relatively fewer — nineteen — of the proverbs in the *Rāmāyaṇa* occur in the extensive collections of Cāṇakya's aphorisms, and only five of them (2.1013 and 28, App.I.14.31-2, 5.35.3 and 6.102.26) lack parallels elsewhere but each of these occurs in one Cāṇakya text only, indicating minimal contact between the two traditions until a very late stage. Thus it is quite clear that the proverbial matter incorporated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is drawn from the general epic tradition rather than from any other part of the literary tradition.

Two thirds of the total number of proverbs are also found in other texts not included in the categories already discussed. Among them we may note that two fourteenth century anthologies, the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* and especially the *Sūktiratnahāra* of Sūrya Kaliṅgarāja, include a considerable number of *Rāmāyaṇa* verses — ten and fifty-five respectively —, although the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* erroneously ascribes them to Vyāsa even when they were apparently taken direct[4]. It is evident that Sūrya was thoroughly familiar with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and his *Sūktiratnahāra* several times quotes consecutively adjacent verses from the

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3. E. W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, New York, 1901, p. 19.

4. In view of the large number of citations in the *Sūktiratnahāra* (SRH), I list here those which do not occur outside the anthologies: 2.20.11 = SRH 121.13, 2.23.33 = SRH 146.23, 2.707* 7-8 = SRH 92.11, 2.901* 5-6 = SRH 79.8, 2.56.12 = SRH 265.5, 2.57.5 = SRH 29.4, 2.57.6 = SRH 29.13, 2.61.8 = SRH 69.3, 2.61.20 = SRH 69.5, 2.1572* 1-2 = SRH 61.13, 2.98.17 = SRH 262.10 and 50.11 (also Vararuci's *Sārasamuccaya* 382), 2.98.21 = SRH 59.19, 2.98.53 = SRH 92.15, 2.101.30 [l.v.] = SRH 200.153, 2.109.24 = SRH 26.3, 3.12.6 = SRH 78.3, 3.28.3 = SRH 64.1, 3.28.7-8 = SRH 13.2-3, 3.31.4 = SRH 66.18, 3.31.14 = SRH 66.17, 3.48.18 = SRH 197.115, 3.65.30 and 6.10.19 = SRH 53.30, 4.18.13 = SRH 94.3 (also Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* 2725), 4.18.54 = SRH 185.3, 4.24.4 = SRH 53.27, 4.28.10 = SRH 220.3, 5.39.5 = SRH 157.7, 5.53.3 = SRH 234.11 (also Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* 2680), 6.156* 1-2 = SRH 43.44, 6.12.17 = SRH 168.4, 6.14.5-6 = SRH 43.45 and 28.6, and 6.74.15 = SRH 197.119. The *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* alone quotes 2.20.12 as 459 (= IS 2976) and 4.29.28 as 3903. Three other stanzas occur only in anthologies: 2.899* (= IS 6707) at Bhāvamiśra's *Bhāvaśataka* (MS) 20, 6.9.8 (= IS 7449) at *Nītiśāstrakawin* 2.3 (cf. L. Sternbach, *On the influence of Sanskrit gnomic literature on the gnomic literature of old Java and Bali*, IT 5, 1977, pp. 199-288), and 6.1584* 1-2 (= IS 3047) at *Subhāṣitamuktāvalī* 4.2, Veṇidatta's *Padyaveṇi* 751 and Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa's *Rasikajīvana* 1441. These will not be given in the list which concludes this article.

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Rāmāyaṇa; for example, 2.34-.25-26 occur together in the *Sūktiratnahāra* at 26.1-2, whereas the *Vikramacarita*, in which they also appear, has separated the verses (VC, sr 30.12 and 9; however, the second stanza occurs very widely).

The distribution of the proverbial material within the *Rāmāyaṇa* is also of interest. It is clear that Vālmīki himself, if we may use that name to denote simply the earliest stage of the work, made comparatively little use of proverbial expressions — just a quarter of the total occurs in the earliest parts — and indeed it appears that certain expressions are of his making. For some stanzas, while showing every sign of having originated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are clearly of a type that would naturally become proverbial. This was recognised not only within the Indian tradition (e.g. 2.20.11 and 12, 98.17, 4.18.13. 5.53.3 etc., and in the Javanese tradition, e.g. 6.9.8), but also by the inclusion of a very large number in Böhtlingk's collection[5]. Not far short of half the instances from the Vālmīkian stage consist in fact of such citations in the anthologies alone.

Over 40% of the proverbial expressions come from passages within books 2-6 which show evidence of expansion or alteration, with only a third consisting of anthology citations. Thus, it may be noted that there are several in 2.98, which elaborates Rāma's refusal to return to Ayodhyā already given in the previous *sarga*, in 2.101, Rāmas retort to Jābāli's casuistry, in 4.17-18, containing the moralising over Rāma's killing of Vālin, and in 6.70, where Lakṣmaṇa inveighs against the efficacy of *dharma*. We see in these and similar passages a little of the tendency so obvious in the *Śānti* and *Anuśāsana parvans* of the *Mahābhārata* to introduce a moralising and didactic element, which is readily expressed in gnomic form. By contrast, the still later *Bāla* and *Uttara kāṇḍas* contain only half a dozen instances between them, reflecting the style of their narration which approximates to that of the *Purāṇas*.

In the next stage of growth, however, that of the * passages and App. I passages, there is again apparent a considerable body of proverbs, amounting to well over a quarter of all the instances noted. Proverbs seem to have been a feature of the Northern recension more than of the Southern, for twice as many are found in it as in the Southern. This undoubtedly reflects the rather more polished text of the Northern recension, shown also in the greater frequency of *alaṃkāras*[6]. The only qualification is that the few anthology citations are drawn mainly but not exclusively from the Southern recension: 2.707* 7-8, 901* 5-6, 1572* 1-2 and 6.156* 1-2 from the Southern, against 2.899* and 6.1584* 1-2 from the Northern.

The first two examples in order of occurrence within the text are also perhaps the most marginal, being instances of proverbial phrases

5. The number of *Rāmāyaṇa* stanzas in the *Indische Sprüche* runs into hundreds. These and other citations in modern collections will not in general be included.
6. Cf. my article *Figures of Speech in the Rāmāyaṇa*, JAOS 97, 1977, pp. 441-59.

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rather than complete proverbs. One is *yāvat sthāsyanti girayaḥ* at 1.2.35a, found also at Mbh. 5.139.55a and 12.320.36a, cf. *yāvad bhūmir dhariṣyati* at 6.88.53d and Mbh. 3.275.48d, 7.148.58d and 8.52.7d. The other is the commonest phrase of all, *eṣa dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ* at 1.24.16b, 3.3.24b, 5.1.100b and Mbh. 1.113.13d *et passim*, and its variant *sa hi dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ* at 2.16.52d, 21.10d, 27.30d and Mbh. 1.113.7d, 3.86.21d, 5.83.7b and 15.26.19b.

daivam eva paraṃ manye pauruṣaṃ tu nirarthakam
1.57.21ab

= Mbh. 2.43.32ab, cf. also Mbh. 7.110.1ab; IS 2974; quoted at Sūktiratnahāra (SRH hereafter) 54.52.

yayātim iva puṇyānte devalokāt paricyutam
2.11.1cd

= 4.17.9cd, cf. *yayāteḥ kṣīṇapuṇyasya svargād iva mahītalam* Mbh. 3.22.23cd, *yayātiṃ taṃ paricyutam* Mbh. 5.119.5d and *yayātir asmi rājarṣiḥ kṣīṇapuṇyaś cyuto divaḥ* 17ab.

suniṣphalaṃ bījam ivoptam ūṣare at 2.17.31d [l.v.] is an expanded form to fit the *vaṃśastha* metre of *bījam uptam ivoṣare* at 3.38.3d, other versions of which are *śubhaṃ bījam ivoṣare* at Manu 2.112d and *yathoṣare bījam uptaṃ na rohet* at Mbh. 13.90.37a [l.v.].

guror apy avaliptasya kāryākāryam ajānataḥ
utpathaṃ pratipannasya kāryaṃ bhavati śāsanam
2.454* 3-4

= Mbh. 1 App.I.81.109-10 (d: *nyāyyaṃ* for *kāryaṃ*), 5.178.24 (c = *utpathapratipannasya*), 12.57.7 (d = *parityāgo vidhīyate*) and 138.48 (d: *daṇḍo* for *kāryaṃ*); IS 2180, also Tantrākhyāyika 1.121, Pañcatantra (Edgerton) 1.120, SRH 90.5.

spṛśann iva gajo hanti jighrann iva bhujaṃgamaḥ
smayann iva nṛpo hanti mānayann iva durjanaḥ
2.610*

IS 7249, Pañcatantra (Edgerton) 3.43, Tantrākhyāyika 3.55, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 3.15, Śārṅgadharapaddhati 1447, etc.

na pituḥ karmaṇā putraḥ pitā vā putrakarmaṇā
sukham āpnoti duḥkhaṃ vā svaṃ tu karmābhijāyate
2.614*

IS 3338, Garuḍa Purāṇa 1.113.27, Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra (Sternbach) 6.20, Vṛddha Cāṇakya, Cāṇakyapraṇīta (Śāstri) 145.29.

na pitā nātmajo nātmā na mātā na sakhījanaḥ
iha pretya ca nārīṇāṃ patir eko gatiḥ sadā
2.24.4

IS 3337; cf. the preceding example and, for the general sense, 2.55.18 and Mbh. 13.134.51.

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pitā rakṣati kaumāre bhartā rakṣati yauvane
putrā rakṣanti vārdhakye na strī svātantryam arhati
2.673*

IS 4067, Mbh. 13.21.19 and 46.14, Manu 9.3, Baudhāyana dh.s. 2.2.3.45, Nāradasmṛti 13.31, Garuḍa Purāṇa 1.115.63, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 1.128, Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra (Sternbach) 8.64, etc. The stanza occurs only in the Kumbhakonam edition.

nātantrī vādyate vīṇā nācakro vartate rathaḥ
nāpatiḥ sukham edheta yā syād api śatātmajā
2.34.25

= Vikramacarita SR 30.12 (cd: *nāpatiḥ sukham āpnoti nārī bandhuśatair api*); IS 3552, SRH 26.1.

mitaṃ dadāti hi pitā mitaṃ mātā mitaṃ sutaḥ
amitasya hi dātāraṃ bhartāraṃ kā na pūjayet
2.34.26

= (with minor variants) Mbh. 12.144.6, Matsya Purāṇa 210.18, Pañcatantra (Kosegarten) 3.156, Vikramacarita SR 30.9, Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā 4.19, Cāṇakyanītiśāstra mss.; IS 4848, SRH 26.2. Both branches of the Northern recension also insert it into the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, at 4 App.I. 11.48-9 and App.I.12.67-8.

etadarthaṃ hi rājyāni praśāsati nareśvarāḥ
yad eṣāṃ sarvakṛtyeṣu mano na pratihanyate
2.46.18

Cf. Garuḍa Purāṇa 1.111.13 and Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra (Chandra Śāstri) 4.30.

śoke na syāt sahāyatā at 2.51.26d is very similar to *nāsti śoke sahāyatā* at Mbh. 11.1.6b; Lüders, in *Die Jātakas und die Epik*, ZDMG 58 (1904), pp. 687-714, compares *n' atthi soke dutiyyatā* at Ghatajātaka 355.

naiṣā hi sā strī bhavati ślāghanīyena dhīmatā
ubhayor lokayor vīra patyā yā saṃprasādyate
2.56.10

IS 3828 and Pañcatantra of Durgasiṃha 315.228.

2.61, on the evils of a kingless state, shows a large measure of agreement with Mbh. 12.67-8, which discuss the evils resulting if a king does not protect his people[7]. A fair amount borders on the proverbial and both include the so-called *matsyanyāya* at Mbh. 12.67.16 and Rām. 2.61.21 (= IS 3641, SRH 69.4); cf. also Śat. Br. 11.1.6.24, Mbh. 3.185.8, Nāradasmṛti 18.15-16, Matsya Purāṇa 225.9 and Kāmandakīya 2.40.

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7. Additionally, 2.61.22-23 are virtually identical to Mbh. 12.15.33 and 32. For the probable priority of the *Rāmāyaṇa* version, see H. Jacobi, *Das Râmâyaṇa*, Bonn, 1893, p. 71, and E. W. Hopkins, *The Original Rāmāyaṇa*, JAOS 46, 1926, pp. 202-19.

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yāni mithyabhiśastānāṃ patanty asrāṇi rāghava
tāni putrapaśūn ghnanti prītyartham anuśāsataḥ
2.94.50

= (var.) Mbh. 12.92.19, Saura Purāṇa 18.16; IS 5460, Śārṅgadharapaddhati 1311.

yadannaḥ puruṣo bhavati tadannās tasya devatāḥ
2.95.31cd

= 2.2191* 2, cf. *yadanno hi naro rājaṃs tadannās tasya devatāḥ* Mbh. 13.65.59cd [8].

sarve kṣayāntā nicayāḥ patanāntāḥ samucchrayāḥ
saṃyogā viprayogāntā maraṇāntaṃ ca jīvitam
2.98.16 + 7.51.10

= (d: *hi* for *ca*) Mbh. 11.2.3, 12.27.29, 317.20 and 14.44.18; Gobhilasmṛti 3.43, Garuḍa Purāṇa 1.115.60, Kathāsaritsāgara 51.26c-27b, Tantrākhyāyika 2.165, Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra (Sternbach) 8.59 etc.; IS 6948, SRH 262.7, Sārasamuccaya 471; Divyāvadāna (Cowell) p. 27. SRH quotes the next verse at 262.10 and 50.11.

yathā kāṣṭhaṃ ca kāṣṭhaṃ ca sameyātāṃ mahārṇave
sametya ca vyapeyātāṃ kālam āsādya kaṃcana
2.98.25

= (var.) Mbh. 12.28.36 and 168.15, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 4.72, Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra 802, Vṛddha Cāṇakya, Cāṇakyapraṇīta (Śāstri) 151.47, Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī 3287, SRH 263.17, Sārasamuccaya 490; IS 5093.

puṃnāmno narakād yasmāt pitaraṃ trāyate sutaḥ
tasmāt putra iti proktaḥ pitṛn yat pāti vā sutaḥ
2.99.12

= (var.) Mbh. 1.68.38, Hv. 66.20, Manu 9.138, Viṣṇusmṛti 15.44; IS 4127; cf. also Gopatha Br. 1.1.2 *yac ca putraḥ punnāma narakam anekaśatatāraṃ tasmāt trātīti putras tat putrasya putratvam.*

The first and last *pādas* of the next verse, 2.99.13 (= IS 1474), *eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrāḥ ... api kaścid gayām vrajet*, are a minor variant of *eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrā yady eko 'pi gayāṃ vrajet* at Mbh. 3.82.85ab (=I S 1475), 85.7cd, 13.88.14ab, Viṣṃusmṛti 85, Matsya Purāṇa 22.6, Vāyu Purāṇa 105.10, Kūrma Purāṇa 2.35.12, Padma Purāṇa 1.38.17 and 5.11.68, Nāradīya, Uttara 44.5-6, Cāṇakyasārasaṃgraha 2.87.

yad eko jāyate jantur eka eva vinaśyati
2.100.3cd

= (var.) Mbh. 4 App.4.2199 and 13.112.11ab, Manu 4.240ab; IS 1355 and 1500.

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8. E. W. Hopkins notes that C. R. Lanman, at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in 1899, argued that this *Rāmāyaṇa* proverb « was from the Pāli form because there hoti actually occurs in the same proverb » (HOPKINS, *The Great Epic*, p. 260). I regret that I have been unable to trace a published form of Professor Lanman's communication.

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nirmaryādas tu puruṣaḥ pāpācārasamanvitaḥ
mānaṃ na labhate satsu bhinnacāritradarśanaḥ
2.101.3

= Cāṇakyanītiśāstra (Paris ms. 17072-1 A) 146; IS 3763.

kāmavṛttas tv ayaṃ lokaḥ kṛtsnaḥ samupavartate
yadvṛttāḥ santi rājānas tadvṛttāḥ santi hi prajāḥ
2.101.9

IS 1652, SRH 177.68; cf. *yathā hi kurute rājā prajā tam anuvartate* at 7.42.19cd and Manu 8.175, *kāmakrodhanu tu saṃyamya yo 'rthān dharmeṇa paśyati / prajās tam anuvartante samudram iva sindhavaḥ.* The final *pāda* of the next verse, 2.101.10 (= IS 6726), *satye lokaḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ*, recurs in the plural at App.I.18.24 post.; cf. *sarvaṃ satye pratiṣṭhitam* Mbh. 12.192.64d and 13.74.30d, *svargaḥ satye pratiṣṭhitaḥ* Mbh. 12.192.67b, and *satye sarvaṃ pratiṣṭhitam* Mahānārāyaṇa Up. 22.1.

karmabhūmim imāṃ prāpya kartavyaṃ karma yac chubham
agnir vāyuś ca somaś ca karmaṇāṃ phalabhāginaḥ
2.101.28

Cāṇakyanītiśāstra used by Galanos 205; IS 1564.

nagarastho vanastho vā pāpo vā yadi vāśubhaḥ
yāsāṃ strīṇāṃ priyo bhartā tāsāṃ lokā mahodayāḥ
2.109.23

= Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 3.28 (b: *vā śuciḥ* for *vāśubhaḥ*); IS 3218/6842.

With 2 App.I.12.77-82 (= IS 2726-8) on the comparative worths of teachers, fathers and mothers may be compared Mbh. 12.109.15-16 (= IS 2733-4) and Mbh. 13.108.14-15 (= IS 2731-2). With 97 pr., *bhartā hi daivataṃ strīṇāṃ*, may be compared Mbh. 12.142.12d, *bhartā hi śaraṇaṃ striyaḥ* (n.b. v.l. *daivataṃ*).

āmraṃ chittvā kuṭhāreṇa nimbaṃ paricaret tu yaḥ
yaś cainaṃ payasā siñcen naivāsya madhuro bhavet
2 App.I.14.31-2

Cāṇakyanītiśāstra (Rājanītau Cāṇikyamuniviracitam) 94; IS 980.

aśvamedhasahasraṃ ca satyaṃ ca tulayā dhṛtam
aśvamedhasahasrād dhi satyam evātiricyate
2 App.I.18.15-16

= Mbh. 1.69.22, 12.156.26, 13.23.14ab + 205*, 74.29, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 8.42, Viṣṇusmṛti 8.36, Nāradasmṛti 4.211, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 4.135, Cāṇakyanītimālā (Chaudhuri) 65; SRH 14.1; IS 730/1/2/3/4.

satyenārkaḥ pratapati satyenāpyāyate śaśī
satyenāmṛtam udbhūtaṃ satye lokāḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ
2 App.I.18.23-4

IS 6744 (and ll.27-8 = IS 6745); cf. Mbh. 12.192.66c-67b and 13.74.30, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 41.43, and for the last *pāda* 2.101.10d above.

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śocanto nanu sasnehā bāndhavāḥ suhṛdas tathā
pātayanti gataṃ svargād aśrupātena rāghava
2 App.I.23.97-8

= (var.) Hitopadeśa (Schlegel) 4.74; IS 6535.

2 App.I.29, identifying a king with various gods, is closely modelled on Manu 9.303-311, as Hopkins pointed out (op. cit. p. 26); additionally, ll.7-8 are quoted at SRH 178.82 and ll.9-10 occur at Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 27.24; cf. IS 2228, 743, 4273, 5136, 5983/4, 3962 and 4184.

yāvaj jahāmi gātrāṇi jīrṇāṃ tvacam ivoragaḥ
3.4.31cd

= Mbh. 13.61.66cd, cf. Mbh. 1.74.4c, 5.172.17d, 12.256.12d, etc., Manu 2.79d and 9.228cd.

yo gṛhāyātam atithiṃ yathāśakti na pūjayet
dattvā sa duṣkṛtaṃ tasya puṇyam ādāya gacchati
3.209*

IS 5587; cf. Mbh. 12.184.12 and 13.3.92, Viṣṇusmṛti 67.33, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 29.31, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 1.64, Pañcatantra (Kosegarten) 3.159, Pañcākhyānaka 3.137.

sulabhāḥ puruṣā rājan satataṃ priyavādinaḥ
apriyasya ca pathyasya ca vaktā śrotā ca durlabhaḥ
3.35.2

= (c: *tu* for *ca*) 6.10.16, Mbh. 5.37.14 (and cd only Mbh. 2.57.17cd), Pañcatantra (Kosegarten) 2.171, Hitopadeśa (Hamilton) 49.4-5, Śārṅgadharapaddhati 1360, Subhāṣitāvalī 2838, Śukasaptati (text. simpl.) pp. 76, 199, SRH 100.18, Vikramacarita mr 40.44-5; IS 7131. The Northern recension follows it in the Yuddhakāṇḍa with *yo hi dharmaṃ vyapāśritya hitvā bhartuḥ priyāpriye / apriyāṇy āha pathyāni tena rājā sahāyavān* 6.159* = (var.) Mbh. 2.57.18, 5.37.15, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 4.21, Subhāṣitāvalī 2840 and IS 5663; presumably this was drawn from the Mahābhārata.

pañca rūpāṇi rājāno dhārayanty amitaujasaḥ
agner indrasya somasya yamasya varuṇasya ca
3.38.12a-d

= 4.404* 1-2 (*dhanadasya* for *varuṇasya*), Nāradasmṛti 18.26; cf. also 2 App.I.29 (above), Mbh. 12.68.41 and 137.99, Manu 7.4 and 7, Matsya Purāṇa 226.9-12.

rājamūlo hi dharmaś ca jayaś ca jayatām vara
3.39.10ab

cf. *rājamūlo mahārāja dharmo lokasya lakṣyate* Mbh. 12.68.8ab; cf. also Mbh. 12.91.3 and Manu 7.17.

sa pāpo bhavyarūpeṇa tṛṇaiḥ kūpa ivāvṛtaḥ
3.44.10ab

cf. *adharmā dharmarūpeṇa tṛṇaiḥ kūpa ivāvṛtāḥ* Mbh. 3.198.54ef; also, a = 4.17.24c and b = 4.17.18d, cf. *gajo mahākūpam ivāvṛtaṃ tṛṇaiḥ* 5.45.20d [l.v.].

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Seeing golden trees as a sign of approaching death is referred to in 3.45.33ab, 51.17cd, 64.11cd and 4.824* 3-6, while *mṛtyukāle yathā martyo viparītāni sevate* at 3.51.15cd is similar to the second line of Mbh. 6.94.12, *mumūrṣur hi naraḥ sarvān vṛkṣān paśyati kāñcanān / tathā tvam api gāndhāre viparītāni paśyasi*, and also to *so 'pacīnāni paśyati* at Mbh. 2.72.8d and 5.34.78d.

dīpanirvāṇagandhaṃ ca suhṛdvākyam arundhatīm
na jighrati mumūrṣur yo na śṛṇoti na paśyati

3.1017* 3-4

= (var.) Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 1.78; for the general concept compare also BĀU 4.4.2 and Mbh. 12.305.9-10. IS 2815.

kālo hi duratikramaḥ occurs at 3.64.21d, 1291* 8 post., App.I.15.5 post. (*vā* for *hi*), 5.14.3d, Mbh. 2 App.I.30.33 post., 3.148.8d and 9.63.8d; cf. *yat kālo duratikramaḥ* 7.19.20d.

pañca pañcanakhā bhakṣyā brahmakṣatreṇa rāghava
śalyakaḥ śvāvidho godhā śaśaḥ kūrmaś ca pañcamaḥ

4.17.34

= (var.) Mbh. 12.139.66ab + 354* 1; the first *pāda* is cited by Patañjali (1.1), on which the Tattvāloka commentary supplies the Rāmāyaṇa verse in the version of the Northern recension. Cf. also Āpastamba DhS 1.5.17.35, Viṣṇusmṛti 51.6, Manu 5.18, Śabara on MS 10.7.28.

rājabhir dhṛtadaṇḍās tu kṛtvā pāpāni mānavāḥ
nirmalāḥ svargam āyānti santaḥ sukṛtino yathā

4.18.30

= (var.) Manu 8.318, Vāsiṣṭha DhS 19.45, Nārada pariś. 48; IS 5736. The Southern recension follows it with 398* = (var.) Manu 8.316, Baudhāyana DhS 2.1.17, Gautama DhS 12.44-5, Viṣṇusmṛti 52.2; IS 6442.

na kālasya priyaḥ kaścin na dveṣyo 'pi kapīśvara

4.430* 3

= Mbh. 11.2.14ab (*kurusattama* for *'pi kapīśvara*); IS 3194.

kṛtārthā hy akṛtārthānāṃ mitrāṇāṃ na bhavanti ye
tān mṛtān api kravyādaḥ kṛtaghnān nopabhuñjate

4.29.40

= (var.) Mbh. 5.36.40 and (cd only) 12.166.23cd, SRH 221.1, IS 6709; cf. Pañcatantra (Bühler) 3.158, IS 6708.

hanti jātān ajātāṃś ca hiraṇyārthe 'nṛtaṃ vadan
sarvaṃ bhūmyanṛte hanti mā sma bhūmyanṛtaṃ vadīḥ

4.650*

= Mbh. 5.35.27, Baudhāyana DhS 1.19.12, Manu 8.99, SRH 15.3, IS 7366; cf. 651* 1.

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brahmaghne ca surāpe ca core bhagnavrate tathā
niṣkṛtir vihitā sadbhiḥ kṛtaghne nāsti niṣkṛtiḥ
4.33.12

= Mbh. 12.166.24 (c: *rājan* for *sadbhiḥ*) and Pañcatantra (Bühler) 3.157; IS 2198; cf. also Mbh. 5.105.12, 12.263.11 and 449* 32-3, Garuḍa Purāṇa 1.114.69, Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra (Sternbach) 7.89, Śārṅgadharapaddhati 704.

yasya pauruṣam aśnanti mitrasvajanabāndhavāḥ
amarā iva śakrasya saphalaṃ tasya jīvitam
4.1372* 4-5

Cf. Mbh. 5.131.41; IS 5383 and 5398 respectively (Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30).

bhūtāś cārthā vipadyante deśakālavirodhitāḥ
viklavaṃ dūtam āsādya tamaḥ sūryodaye yathā
5.2.37 + 28.37

IS 4608; cf. Pañcākhyānaka 3.179, IS 6796.

Hanumān's soliloquy in 5.14 has been imitated in Sudeva's soliloquy at Mbh. 3.65 but in addition to the parallels thus generated contains the proverb:

bhartā nāma paraṃ nāryā bhūṣaṇaṃ bhūṣaṇād api
eṣa hi rahitā tena śobhanārhā na śobhate
5.14.26

= (var.) Mbh. 3.65.18, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 3.29 and Pāli collections; IS 4542.

kalyāṇī bata gātheyaṃ laukikī pratibhāti me
eti jīvantam ānando naraṃ varṣaśatād api
5.32.6 + 6.114.2

The third *pāda* is quoted by Patañjali (Mahābhāṣya 1.3.12 and 3.1.67) and the third and fourth by Udbhaṭa in his commentary on Bhāmaha's Kāvyālaṃkāra 4.

aiśvarye vā suvistīrṇe vyasane vā sudāruṇe
rajjveva puruṣaṃ baddhvā kṛtāntaḥ parikarṣati
5.35.3

Laghu-Cāṇakya (Sternbach) 4.8, SRH 58.12, IS 1489.

ahir eva aheḥ pādān vijānāti na saṃśayaḥ
5.40.9cd

Cf. *ahir eva hy aheḥ pādān paśyatīti nidarśanam* at Mbh. 12.196.13ab.

na hi dharmaviruddheṣu bahvapāyeṣu karmasu
mūlaghātiṣu sajjante buddhimanto bhavadvidhāḥ
5.49.16

= (var.) Mbh. 3.2.16 and 240.3.

5.52.13a quotes the first *pāda* only, *nāgnis tṛpyati kāṣṭhānām*, of a common proverb found at Mbh. 1.1189*, 5.40.6 and 13.38.25, Garuḍa

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Purāṇa 1.109.40, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 2.114, Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra (Sternbach) 2.48, etc. etc.; SRH 78.7, IS 3547. In the following sarga, the Southern recension inserts 5.1092* 1-4 which is very similar to Mbh. 3.30.4-5 (IS 1966 and 6028), quoted at SRH 82.2 (first verse only) and Sārasamuccaya 111-2.

trividhāḥ puruṣā loke uttamādhamamadhyamāḥ
6.6.6ab

= Mbh. 5.33.56ab (*rājan* for *loke*), Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 2.69, Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra (Tibetan) 5.11, Śārṅgadharapaddhati 1366, SRH 143.3, IS 2646 (first lines only); 6.6.6-10 = IS 2647-51.

saṃbhāvyaṃ goṣu saṃpannaṃ saṃbhāvyaṃ brāhmaṇe tapaḥ
cāpalyaṃ strīṣu saṃbhāvyaṃ saṃbhāvyaṃ jñātito bhayam
6.155*

= (var.) Mbh. 5.36.56, Pañcatantra (Kosegarten) 4.81, (Bühler) 4.115, (Meghavijaya) 4.70, Pañcākhyānaka 4.64, SRH 96.6, IS 6880; cf. Cāṇakyasārasaṃgraha 3.9, Cāṇakyanītiśāstra (Weber) 54, IS 6078. This is the Northern variant for 6.10.9, which expresses exactly the same idea in slightly different wording.

ārto vā yadi vā dṛptaḥ pareṣāṃ śaraṇaṃ gataḥ
ariḥ prāṇān parityajya rakṣitavyaḥ kṛtātmanā
6.12.15

= Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā 19.9, SRH 168.3, IS 1022.

na hantavyāḥ striyaś ceti yad bravīṣi plavaṃgama
pīḍākaram amitrāṇāṃ yat syāt kartavyam eva tat
6.68.27

sarvakālaṃ manuṣyeṇa vyavasāyavatā sadā
6.1551*

= Mbh. 7.975* + 118.48cd + 976*, a direct quotation of this passage, which is attributed to Vālmīki in Mbh. 7.118.48ab, *api cāyaṃ purā gītaḥ śloko vālmīkinā bhuvi.*

6.70 incorporates a collection of proverbs on the virtue of wealth, found in a less developed form at Mbh. 12.8, of which individual items also occur elsewhere. 6.70.31 = (var.) Mbh. 12.8.16, Pañcatantra (Kosegarten) 1.6, Skanda Purāṇa, Nāgarakhaṇḍa 155.45, IS 618. 6.70.32 = (var.) Mbh. 12.8.18, Pañcatantra (Edgerton) 2.32, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 1.133, Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra (Sternbach) 4.12, etc., IS 617. 6.70.34=Mbh. 12.8.19, Garuḍa Purāṇa 1.111.17, Pañcatantra (Edgerton) 2.31, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 1.134, Vṛddha-Cāṇakya (orn., Sternbach) 7.15, (simpl., id.) 6.8, Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra (Sternbach) 4.12, etc., IS 5409. 6.70.37cd + 1582* = Mbh. 12.8.20, Pañcākhyānaka 1.3, SRH 203.8, IS 222 and 5408. 6.70.38 = Mbh. 12.8.21, IS 3091. 6.1584* 1-2 = Subhāṣitamuktāvalī 4.2, Veṇidatta's Padyaveṇi 751, Rasikajīvana 1441, IS 3047; 3-4 = Tantrākhyāyika 2.56, Subhāṣitāvalī 3162, Śārṅgadharapaddhati 412, Sārasamuccaya 290, IS 2226; the whole of this Northern addition is broadly similar to Mbh. 12.8.22-3.

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parasvānāṃ ca haraṇaṃ paradārābhimarśanam
suhṛdām atiśaṅkā ca trayo doṣāḥ kṣayāvahāḥ
6.74.20

= (var.) Mbh. 5.181* 1-2, IS 7367.

na gṛhāṇi na vastrāṇi na prākārās tiraskriyāḥ
nedṛśā rājasatkārā vṛttam āvaraṇaṃ striyaḥ
6.102.26

= Cāṇakyasārasaṃgraha (Sternbach) 2.75 v.l., IS 3221.

prāptavyāny eva prāpnoti gantavyāny eva gacchati
labdhavyāny eva labhate duḥkhāni ca sukhāni ca
7 App.I.8.31*

= Cāṇakyanītiśāstra (Rājanītau cāṇikyamuniviracitam) 52, SRH 54.53, IS 4324.

rājaiva kartā bhūtānāṃ rājaiva ca vināśakaḥ
7 App.I.8.367

= Mbh. 12.92.8ab, IS 5765 (1st line).

indriyāṇāṃ praduṣṭānāṃ hayānām iva dhāvatām
7 App.I.8.405

= (var.) Mbh. 3.202.23ab, cf. also Manu 2.88ab; IS 1113 and 1118.

na sā sabhā yatra na santi vṛddhā
vṛddhā na te ye na vadanti dharmam
nāsau dharmo yatra na satyam asti
na tat satyaṃ yac chalenānuviddham
7 App.I.10.67-70

= Mbh. 5.35.49, Garuḍapurāṇa 1.115.52, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 3.64, Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra (Sternbach) 8.53, Bhartṛhari (Kosambi) 568, Śārṅgadharapaddhati 1344, SRH 200.152, IS 3483.

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T. BURROW

ON THE TREATMENT OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN CONSONANT GROUP -TL- IN SANSKRIT

It is well-known that Indo-European *l* is subject to a twofold treatment in Sanskrit. In some words it is converted to *r* while in others it remains as *l*, and instances where both treatments are found are not uncommon. These variations are found in all environments, including those in which IE *-l-* is the second member of a consonant group, e.g. *śukrá-* and *śuklá-*, *babhrú-* and *babhluśá.* When however the first member of such a group is a dental there is a complication, since the groups *-tl-* and *-dl-* are not allowed in Sanskrit. What happens here in the case of the combination *-dl-* has been well established; in examples like *kṣudrá-* small' the *-l-* is converted to *-r-* after the usual Vedic style, but in *kṣulla-*, *kṣullaká-* the group with *-l-* preserved is assimilated to *-ll-*. This is the same change as occurs in compositional and external sandhi: *tal labhate, ulluptam.* Original *-l-* in this dental combiantion, can be deduced when such variation occurs. On the other hand if *-l-* had become *-r-* and that form only is attested, then its original cannot be detected.

The treatment *-ll-* is rare in the Veda, since *r* from *l* is much preferred in the Vedic language, but the above form *kṣullaká-* occurs n the Atharva- and Taittirīya- Saṃhitās, by which it is attested for the Vedic period. The change here is not Prakrit since to earlier form is preserved at this period. The group *-ll-* has already been established at the Vedic stage, and it is the representative in Sanskrit of IE *-dl-* in the earliest period.

Another example which has been noticed in this connection is *bhalla-* « auspicious », contrasting with the usual form *bhadrá-*, and pointing to an original IE suffix *-la* in this word. In Sanskrit this word is late and lexical, but in the NIA languages it is very widespread and much better represented than the alternative form *bhadrá-*. According to the rhetorician Vāmana this form was rustic (*grāmya-*), and it is an interesting example of a variant form, generally excluded by Sanskrit,

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gaining the upper hand in the modern languages. Although generally recorded only in a late period, there is one instance where its currency at a much early date is attested. In Chāndogya Upaniṣad 4.1.2 the flamingo is addressed as *bhallākṣa* « auspicious-eyed » using the popular form of the word, and thus attesting the coexistence of the two forms of this adjective at the time of the composition of this work.

A further example is the word *challi-* « bark » which Benfey derived from the root *chad-* « to cover ». This gives a suitable meaning, and no better suggestion has been produced since. The word is recorded only very late in Sanskrit, but it is well represented in Middle and particularly New Indo-Aryan: Pa. *challi-* « bark, bast », Pkt. *challī-* « skin, bark »; Hi. *chāl* « bark, skin, peel », *chālā* « skin, hide », etc., Turner, CDIAL, no. 5005. This is another example of a word which must have long existed in the popular language, whence its prevalence in NIA, which only gained admittance into Sanskrit at a very late date.

This derivation shows that this word can have no connection with the words with which M. Mayrhofer connected it in EWA. I, p. 405, namely Hi. *chīlnā* « to peel », *chōlnā* « to cut, peel, scrape », Be. *chol* « rind, bark ». These were all put together on the assumtion that their irregular correspondences were to be accounted for by their non-Aryan origin, but since *challi-* is clearly of Indo-Aryan derivation, as given above, this kind of theory cannot apply to it. As regards Hi. *chīlnā*, *chōlnā* and all the related words, Mayrhofer did not produce any actual etymologies, being content to suggest that the words were probably non- Indo-European. On the other hand DED pointed to similar words in Dravidian, namely for Hi. *chīlnā*, etc. no. 2120 Tu. *cilkuni*, etc., and for Hi. *chōlnā* n. 2336, Ta. *coli*, etc. The similarity between these Dravidian words meaning to « skin, peel » and the above IA words are certainly striking, and in the absence of an alternative, they would provide an acceptable teymology. Nevertheless I think there is a possibility of providing these IA words with an Indo-Aran derivation, which is deserving of serious consideration.

There exists in rakrit a system of verbal derivation, by which an augment or infix *-ll-*, which may be preceded by a vowel (e.g. *-ull-*) is added to the original root in such a way that the original root is often difficult to detect. The Prakrit verbs of this type were discussed, and for the first time properly interpreted, by L. A. Schwarzschild, in an article published in JAOS, 77, pp. 203-207, 1957 (« Notes on some Middle Indo-Aryan words in -ll- »). Verbs of this kind which were quoted in the article were *sollai* « throw, propel » (*sū*), *ṇollai*, *ṇollei* « push » (*nud-*), *bhillia-* « broken » (*bhid-*), *vollai/bollai* « speaks » (*vac-* or *vad-*) *vollai* « to walk » (*vraj-*). In view of the existence of the type illustrated by these forms, it is obviously possible to derive Pkt. *chollai* « flays » in the same manner from the Sanskrit root *chā-/chi-*, which though usually given the general meaning « to cut », seems in actual usage to be particularly used in connection with flaying. The Skt present of this verb

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is *chyáti*, which would give in Prakrit *chai*, a form so short that it might be considered to invite enlargement. Following the pattern of the above-mentioned Prakrit verbs we would get in the first place *chaulla-i*, and then with the expected contraction, the actual Prakrit form *chollai*, from which in due course Hi. *chōlnā*, etc. derive. The alternative NIA verb, Hi. *chīlnā*, etc. will be derived in the same way from the weak form of the Sanskrit verb, *chi-*, probably from a past participle * *chilla-*, from which a denominative verb has been derived. In Prakrit *ṇicchallai* « cut », the augment *-ll-*, in this case without supporting vowel, is added to the present base (Skt. *chyáti*) with short vowel.

In view of the many parallels the case for deriving Pkt. *chollai*, etc. from the Skt. root *chā-/chi-* in this way is very strong, so that the previously suggested Dravidian derivations become doubtful.

There is another word for « skin », hide' very widespread in the modern IA languages, but recorded only late and rarely in Sanskrit. This is the entry 3848 *khalla-* in R. L. Turner's *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, with derivatives all the modern languages: Hi. *khāl khālā* « skin, leather, bellows », Nep *khālo*, etc. Hhe earlier forms are, Skt. *khalla-* « leather, leather garments » (lex.), « a leather water-bag » (lex.), Pa. *khallaka-* « leather for shoes » (VinP.), Pkt. *khallaga-*, *khallaya-* « leather shoe » *khallā* « leather)». In his *Nepali Dictionar*, Turner proposed to derive these words from the Dhātupāṭha root *skhadate* « cut », which would have made it another example of *-dl-* > *-ll-* to be added to those under discussion. This suggestion in his later work he considered to be doubtful, rightly so, since the derivation of this word is quite different. The key to its derivation is provided by tyo lexical forms which have preserved the original conjunct *-lv-* which ha elsewhere been assimilated to *-ll-*. These forms are *khalva-* n. (*Vaijayantī*) and *khalvā* f. (Hemacandra, *Uṇādi*), both rendered « *dṛti* », i.e. « leather waterbag, bellows ». These forms show that *-ll-* here cannot be from *-dl-*, but must represent original *-lv-*. As this word is recorded as early as the Pali Vinaya, there is a good chance that it should have an IE etymology, and now that the correct original form has been established, this is not difficult to find. The word belongs to the IE family of words collected together by J. Pokorny in IEW, pp. 293 ff. under the heading *(s)kel-* « schneiden », with examples such as Hitt. *iškallāi-* « tear, tear off », Gk. σκάλλω, « stir up, hoe » σκύλλω « tear, strip », OIc. *skilja* « to split », Lith. *skeliù* « id. », and so forth. In Sanskrit the root has lost the mobile s-, but its original presence has resulted in the aspiration of the initial consonant, according to the principle established by R. Hiersche in his book *Untersuchungen zur Frage der Tenues Aspiratae im Indo-germanischen*, to whose examples this is to be added. Thus we get another example of a word occurring only very late in Sanskrit which nevertheless has a good IE etymology.

In Greek accounts of Alexanders campaigns in India, one of tribes figuring prominently are the Malloi. By an almost universal consensus

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these Malloi have been identified with the Mālavas a tribe well-known from native sources. The obvious difficulty, that *Malloi* and *Mālava-* do not fit properly, and that one would expect *Malla-* to be the form rendered in Greek by Malloi, has been generally ignored. There is also another difficulty, that of position. The Malloi known to the Greeks were resident in the Punjab, whereas the Mālavas belonged to the desert areas of Rajasthan. Apart from other evidence, this is indicated by their name. The stem *mālava-* is a vṛddhied derivative of the usual kind from **malu-*, an alternative form of *maru-* « desert » with an *-l-* alternating with *-r-* as in many other cases. In such cases the *-l-* is usually original, so that in looking for an IE etymology forms having *-l-* should be primarily considered. For this reason forms like Goth. *malma* « sand », Swed. *malm* « sandy plain », OE *mealm(-stān)* « sandstone », are the most likely cognates.

Since the Mālavas are for this reason ruled out in identifying the Malloi of the Greeks, an alternative is to be sought. This is not difficult if we bear in mind the alternation noted above of *bhadra-* and *bhalla-*. By this parallel we can equate the Malloi with the Madras, whose geographical situation is exactly right. What the Greeks heard was not the classical form *Madra-*, but a variant in the popular speech *malla-*, with the same relation to *Madra-*, as that of *bhalla-* to *bhadrá-*. The original form of this name will have been **madla-*. In the case of the Madras the Vedic form of the name has prevailed in Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan (Pa. Pkt. *madda-*), but this stem is also used of another tribe in NE India wellknown from Buddhist tradition, the Mallas. In this case the form with *-ll-* < *-dl-* only is known.

To find the etymology of *Malla-* therefore one must start from an original form **madla-*. In an article which will be published elsewhere I have dealt with the related roots *mā-*, *mād-* and *mad-* meaning « to meet, come together, associate », and of these the root form *mad-* can be seen in the adjectival form *madra-* < **madla-*. This provides a very suitable meaning since the members of tribal units meet together to discuss and manage their affairs. Both the Madras of the Panjab, and the Mallas of the North-East were classed as republican gaṇas, and such public meetings were customary in their case. Deriving the word from this root we can also see now its other meaning has arisen, namely that of « boxer, wrestler ». They are called *malla-* < **madla-*, because they meet in pugilistic contests, the primary meaning therefore being « competitor ».

This same change of *-dl-* to *-ll-* is assumed by J. Pokorny, IEW, p. 790 for Skt. *palla-* « granary » and *pallī* « a particular measure of grain ». By this means it can be connected with a Germanic family of words meaning « vessel, container », such as OHG *vazz*, OE *faet*, etc. Also connected are Lith. *púodas*, Lett. *puôds* « pot ». This seems the best way of accounting for this word, although there are some complications. There is also a word *palya-* « a sack for corn » which makes it possible

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that *palla-* may be a Middle Indian form with *-ll-* assimilated from *-ly-*. On the other hand it is equally possible that in *palya-* we have a hyper-sanskritic form based on the assumption that *palla-* was Prakritic. The genuineness of *palya-* might be held to be supported by the fact that Sheth's Prakrit dictionary gives a form *palia-* as equivalent to *palla-*, but in the Ardhamagadhī dictionary this *palia-* is registered only as the first part of the compound *paliovama-* « a huge period of time » which is Sanskritised as *palyopama-*. This is a mistake since the corresponding Sanskrit form, which occurs in *Kāśyapa-Saṃhitā* p. 44 is *palitopama-* corresponding to which Jaina Maharāṣṭrī has *palidovama-*. It is possible therefore that of the two forms of the word, *palla-* is the more original, and *palya-* artificially created. In any case the two should not be kept apart, as is done for instance by M. Mayrhofer.

Pokorny's reconstructed forms are *pēd-*, *pōd-* « to hold, contain »; *pēdo-* « vessel, container ». On the other hand E. Fraenkel in his etymological dictionary of Lithuanian separates the Lituanian forms with *-ē-* (Lith. *pėdas* « sheaf », Lett. *pęda* « armull ») from the other words. It this is done there ceases to be any foundation for the vocalism assumed by Pokorny. It is simpler to take the Baltic words as containing an original long vowel *-ō-* of which the *-a-* in Sanskrit and Germanic is the reduced grade. It would then be possible that this original *pōd-* might contain a root axtension added to a more primitive *pō-* seen in Sanskrit *pātra-* « container, vessel ».

These are the examples where IE *-dl-* becomes *-ll-* in Sanskrit as opposed to the Vedic treatment *-dr-*. One would expect that IE *-tl-* would have developed in the same way, since in sandhi the combination of *-t* and *l-* produces *-ll-* just like that of *d-* and *l-*. So, beside the Vedic treatment *-tr-* one would expect to find examples of the alternative treatment *-ll-*. So far as I am aware no such examples have been pointed out, but this is not because they do not exist, but only because they have not been observed. Such examples are not rare, as will be demonstrated below.

1. The Sanskrit words *malla-*, *mallaka-*, *mallikā* having such meanings as « earthenware vessel, vessel made out of a coconut shell, lamp-stand » are rare in Sanskrit, their attestation being mainly confined to lexica und Buddhist texts. In Middle Indo-Aryan on the other hand they are quite common: Pa. *mallaka-* « bowl, vessel, cup, Pkt. *mallaga-*, *mallaya-* an earthen bowl ». Words derived from these in the modern IA languages are given by Turner, CDIAL, no. 9909. Corresponding words are found widely in the SDravidian languages: Ta. *mallam* « cup, porringer, plate », etc. DED 3884. It has be en suggested that these IA words have been derived from Dravidian, but it is obviously rather difficult in such a case to decide on which side the borrowing lies. One thing that speaks against Dravidian being the lender is the fact that the Tamil words given in DED are only date and lexical.

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It is possible to find an IE etymology for these words on the assumption that the *-ll-* here represents IE *-tl-*. The words to be combined in the first place are Lat. *matula* (< **matla*) « vessel, pot; chamber pot » and *matella* « id. ». It is possible to go further than these straightforward equations between Latin and Sanskrit, by defining the structure of the root involved. In a fuller form this root appears as *ama-* in the Vedic word *ámatra-* « a large drinking vessel ». Here we have a disyllabic root (*amā*) in its full grade I with the reduced grade of the final long vowel of the base (*áma-tra-*). The full grade II of such bases involves the elision of the first vowel and the retention of the length of the final vowel (*plē-* « fill », etc. from, *pelē-*, etc.), and this process operates also in the case of disyllabic bases beginning with vowels, so that the full grade II of *amā*, if it were preserved as such, would be **mā-*. As I pointed out in *The Problem of Shwa in Sanskrit*, p. 15, these full grade II bases are subject to the process of ablaut, with the result that this *mā-* can have a reduced grade *ma-*. This is the form taken by the root in **matlā* (> Lat. *matula*) and *matlo-* (> Skt. *malla-*).

2. Sanskrit *culla-* « blear-eyed; a blear eye (MW) » could more precisely be rendered « having a dripping or watery eye; a dripping eye », since it does not have the other meanings associated with the English word *blear*. The word is an adjective applied in the first place to the eye, a meaning which is still seen in the bahuvrīhi compound *cullākṣa-* « having watery or dripping eyes », then extended to apply to the person having such eyes. The word is not entirely confined to eyes, since a compound *cullamukha-* « having a dribbling mouth » is also recorded (Kṣemendra, *Deśopadeśa*, 8.36).

This adjective *culla-* can be explained as being from **cutla-*, formed with the suffix *-la* added to the root *cut-*, a variant of *cyut-* « to drip » with the Prakritic development of initial *cy-* to *c-* as seen in Pkt. *cuai*, and the further derivatives given in Turner, CDIAL, no. 4948, Hi. *cūnā*, etc. As such a word is slikely to have a popular form this development is to be expected.

3. There is also a word *pilla-* having a meaning identical with that of *culla-*, and like it probably derived from an earlier form with *-tl-*, **pitla-*. Here no root in verbal use is available, but there are some Greek equations, to which I drew attention in Kratylos, XXI, p. 66 which may suggest that this was the case. The Greek words are πτίλος « having sore eyes », πτὶλλος = *lippus*, πτίλωσις « soreness of the eyes », πτιλώσσω « to suffer from sore eyes ». In Frisk's *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* these words have been put together with words meanng « down, soft feathers » which is quite inappropriate from the point of view of meaning. On the other hand the connection with Sanskrit *pilla-* is entirely suitable from this point of view.

I pointed out in the above mentioned note that the initial πτ- of the Greek word, could be compared with the which appears in πτίσσω, πτέρνη etc., of which the explanation remains obscure. In view of this

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suggestion about the derivation of Skt. *pilla-* from **pitla-* a more precies account may be attempted here. The Greek and Sanskrit forms are not precisely identical, since while the Sanskrit form goes back to **pitla-*, the Greek form is best explained out of **pitila-* with a slightly variant suffix. The loss of the first *-i-* in Greek can then be explained according to the principles expounded by O. Szemerényi in his book *Syncope in Greek and Indo-European and the Nature of the Indo-European Accent*, i.e. *pitilo-* become *ptilo-*. The doubling in πτίλλος will be expressive.

There is a third word having this meaning in Sanskrit, namely *cilla-*. There is no need to search for a separate etymology for this. It has obviously arisen as a hybrid form based on a mixing of *culla-* and *pilla-*.

4. Sanskrit *bhalla-* denoting a particular weapon occurs commonly in Sanskrit from the Mahābhārata onwards, and it is well represented in Middle and New Indo-Aryan, Turner CDIAL, no. 9409. The meaning given in Monier-Williams' dictionary is « a kind of arrow or missile with a point of a particular shape ». In the modern languages the meanings is predominantly « spear », but there is also the meaning « crescent-headed arrow ». If we assume that this *bhalla-* is from **bhatla-* an IE etymology becomes available by referring to the root *bhāt-*: *bhət-*, which should of course be *bhāt-*: *bhat-*, meaning « to strke, thrust ». Skt *bhalla-* < **bhatla-* contains the weak grade of this root followed by the suffix *-la*, and the meaning of the root fits exactly with that of the derivatives. There are some problems about this root, including the fact that the Latin representative *battuo* has to be a loanword on account of its phonology. Nevertheless it seems to be adequately established on the basis of the evidence provided by J. Pokorny in IEW, pp. 11-112, to which possibly the common Illyrian proper name *Bato* should be added. Sanskrit *bhalla-* < **bhatla-* extends the range of this root to the Indo-Iranian branch.

5. A satisfactory derivation for Sanskrit *phulla-* « in bloom, blossoming » has not so far been provided. Instead of the proposed connection with *phalati* « b ursts », the solution of this problem is to be sought in quite a different direction. There is a root *sphuṭ-*, *sphuṭati* « to bloom, blossom » which is to be separated from *sphuṭ-* « to split », and of which the final *-ṭ* is a spontaneous cerebral. The reason for this conclusion was given in my article « Spontaneous cerebral in Sanskrit », BSOAS, 34, p. 550 (1971). It is that from this root there is derived a plant-name *āsphota-/āsphoṭa*, applied to several plants, *Bauhinea variegata*, etc., which are presumably so called on account of the abundance of their blossom. The preserved dental in the first of the alternative forms quoted shown that the original form of the root was *sphut-* with dental *t-*. When the suffix *-la* is added to this **sphut-* the result expected according to the rule we have established is *sphulla-*. The fact that we have not **sphulla-*, but *phulla-* is to be explained on the basis that *phulla-* is Prakritic. The adoption of this Prakritic form into Sanskrit

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was probably largely due to the fact that in the frequent combination with the prefix *ud, utphulla-*, the *-s-*, is elided by a regular rule of Sanskrit sandhi.

6. For *pallava-* « sprout, leaf-shoot, tender leaf », no satisfactory etymology has so far been proposed. A suggestion that it is for *pad-lava-* (*pad-* « foot » and *lava-* « small piece ») would have provided another example of the change of *-dl-* to *-ll-*, but it does not produce the required meaning. A connection with *phulla-* « blooming » is excluded by what has been said above about the derivation of *phulla-*. A better etymology is got if we take the *-ll-* as being from *-tl-* which would give an original **patlava-*. This form could then be connected with Gk πέταλον « leaf », but go back to a more complicated IE formation **pet-l-ewos*. If this is the derivation, then we should look agaan at Skt. *patra-* « leaf ». This word combines the meanings of « wing, feather » and « leaf » and is »derived according to the first meaning from *pat-* « to fly ». As the word *parṇa-* also combines the these two meanings this would seem to be in order. However the meaning of *patra-* is wider than that of *parṇa-*, being used of the blade of a sword, saw, etc. (*asipatra-, karapatra-*). It is also likely that the word *paṭṭa-* « plate, tablet, slab » is an irregular Prakritic development from *patra-*. In Greek the word πέταλον also combines the meanings of « leaf » and « metal plate ». The Greek word is derived from the root meaning « to spread out » (πετάννυμι). Words meaning objects which are flat and extensive are suitably derived form this root. For instance it provides a suitable etymology for Gk. πέτρα « stone » which will originally have meant « a flat stone », with the same development of meaning as seen in Hindi *patthar* « stone » from Skt. *prastara-*. In the same way it provides a suitable derivation for πέταλον « leaf », and also for Skt. *patra-* in all its meanings which in this case may well have been a homophone of *patra-* wing.

A Sanskrit lexicon (Kalpadrukosa, 144, 108) has preserved the name of a domestic utensil, *pallikā* « a butter knife or scoop ». As this is a broad and flat object it can be traced to **patlikā* containing the same root *pat-* « to extend ».

It was to be expected that IE *-tl-* in cases where it did not become *-tr-* with the Vedic change of *-l-* to *-r-*, would become *-ll-* in the same way as IE *-dl-* became *-ll-*, and from the above survey it has been shown that in no less than six instances this has been so. By recognising the reality of this development it has been possible to provide satisfactory analyses for a number of words which had previously resisted attemts to analyse them and provide them with a suitable etymology.

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LOKESH CHANDRA

THE INDONESIAN SANCTUARY OF CHAṆḌI SEWU AS A STEREOMORPHIC VAJRADHĀTU MAṆḌALA

The precise nature of the complex of 1+8+240 buildings of the Chandi Sewu, near Chandi Kalasan, in the village of Prambanan near Yogyakarta the cultural capital of Indonesia, has hardly been determined in a definitive manner taking into account the Indonesian Buddhist texts, their texture within the classification of *vajrayāna tantras*, the context of the cultural interflow between India and Indonesia during the epoch when the Chandi Sewu was constructed, the theory of architectonic constellations expressing dimensions of the tantric vision, the abundant Nepalese textual evidence hidden away in unpublished manuscripts, collateral artistic expressions of identical/parallel cosmograms in the Himalayan regions, and the multiplicity of Japanese traditions about the *Vajradhātu maṇḍalas*. The utilisation of original texts in Sanskrit or Tibetan or Sino-Japanese and comparative studies of the same theme in different traditions as preserved in manuscripts over vast regions of Asia has been steadily declining in the emerging order of over-generalisation at the expense of precision. Though F.D.K. Bosch (1929: 111-133) had come to a correct but halting assessment about the appropriate identification of the Chandi Sewu as early as 1929, later scholars have hardly verified or elaborated his hesitant conclusions, and on the contrary they have relegated the Sewu to the undefined. Fritz A. Wagner (1962: 114) is simplistic in terming the central statue to « have been a bronze Buddha » instead of Vairocana. Further he states: « The whole construction, symbolising the cosmos, *maṇḍala*, was intended to assist the hermit in his meditations ». The maṇḍala is not named and its primary function was not meditation for which a painted maṇḍala is the norm. Louis Frédéric (1965: 163 pl. 182) is again imprecise in stating that « this temple, dedicated to Buddha,... and probably symbolising the Mahāyāna pantheon ». Buddha generally refers to Śākyamuni and not to Vairocana. The pantheon here is vajrayānic and therein too it belongs to a very specific tantric text. A. J. Bernet Kempers (1959:

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56 pl. 130) is correct but cautions in saying: « The central shrine of the main temple appears to have contained an image of the Highest Buddha as the central figure of an elaborate pantheon, presumably a Vajradhātu-maṇḍala ». Jan Fontein, R. Soekmono, Satyawati Suleiman (1971: 144 pl. 4) feel that « it is impossible to reconstruct the iconographic plan of Tjandi Sewu. It is likely, however, that the assembled statues formed a huge Diamond Matrix Maṇḍala (Vajradhātu-maṇḍala) ». The Sewu *is* an architectonic *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala* whose niches are a sure guide to its iconography though all its stone and bronze statues have disappeared « within the memory of man », including the central statue of Mahāvairocana the fragments of whose head were discovered in 1927.

A few general observations about the precise denomination of Vajrayāna Buddhism that was prevalent in Indonesia would help in clarifying the context. Before doing so we will have to consider the classification of Vajrayāna tantras into four broad division of: (i) *kriyā-tantras*, (ii) *caryā-tantras*, (iii) *yoga-tantras*, and (v) *anuttara-yoga tantras*. Each division is presided over by a different Buddha. They are as follows:

kriyā-tantras	Amitāyus
caryā-tantras	Vairocanābhisambodhi (one face, dhyāna mudrā)
yoga-tantras	Sarvavid Vairocana (four faces, cakra in hand)
anuttara yogi (father) *tantras*	Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya
anuttara yoginī (mother) *tantras*	Cakrasaṁvara

Every division has its fundamental and explanatory *tantra*. In Indonesia the teaching of *yoga-tantras* was prevalent. So also in Japan. That was the vogue in South India whence they were transmitted to both these countries. We shall cite *Rgyud-sde spyiḥi rnam-par-gzhag-pa rgyas-par brjod*, a survey of the entire field of tantra in terms of bibliography and basic ideas, by the great Tibetan master of *tantras*, Mkhas-grub-rje who lived from 1385-1438. He clarifies (Lessing/Wayman 1968: 25) that the teaching of the yoga division of tantras is set forth in « two works, the fundamental tantra Tattvasaṁgraha (Toh. 479), and the explanatory tantra Vajraśekhara (Toh. 480). They have primary commentaries by three men who are famed in India as being learned in Yoga, namely, Śākyamitra, Buddhaguhya, and Ānandagarbha ». Buddhaguhya, who wrote the fundamental commentary *Tantrārthāvatāra* (Toh. 2501) on the *Tattvasaṅgraha* lived in the middle of the eighth century as is attested by his letter (Toh. 4194) to the Tibetan King Khri-sroṅ-ldeḥu-btsan who reigned from A.D. 755. His date is important as it lends weight to the fact that the eighth century was the golden age of yoga-tantras, a fact corroborated by other historic events.

The *yoga-tantras* have five families (*kula*: *tathāgata, ratna, padma*), *karma*, and *vajra*. Their *kuleśa*'s are: Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Akṣobhya. The deities created by his *mudrā*

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are the progeny (*kulika*, Lessing/Wayman 1968: 102-3). Among them the Tathāgata-family of Vairocana is the highest. In the anuttara *yoga-tantras*, Vajradhara is added as the sixth family and he is the highest. This was further elaborated in the « Mother Tantras » of the *anuttara-yoginī-tantras* by the addition of a seventh family (*ḍākinīs*). In Indonesia we find only five families in the Saṅ hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra and Kalpabuddha (Bosch 1929: 131-3), besides the expression *pañca-tathāgata* in Kalpabuddha (p. 133) and elsewhere. No statue which can be specifically attributed to the *anuttara-yoga-tantras* has been found in Indonesia. The anuttara division of tantras probably did not reach Indonesia and never came to vogue in China and Japan. It became popular in Tibet where it reached its apogee of development. Whenever a comparison of Indonesian iconography with that of Tibet is resorted to this fundamental fact has to be borne in mind.

Bosch has proved the close affinity of Indonesian Buddhist iconography with the Shingon iconography of Japan. It is but natural that the two traditions should agree as they represent the same yoga-tantra school of Buddhism. The basic tantra of this school was carried to China by Vajrabodhi who arrived in Canton in 720 by the sea route on board a Persian ship. He was the son of the Royal Preceptor (*rājaguru*) of Kanchi. En route they encountered a storm just twenty days before they reached Canton. All the thirty odd ships were lost, except that which carried Vajrabodhi, who saved it by his recitation of *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*. In the confusion that ensued, Vajrabodhi forgot to save the complete text of the *Vajraśekhara-tantra* of which the abridged version was preserved. This is the text he translated into Chinese and introduced its *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*, which is a collocation of nine *maṇḍalas* namely, the *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala, samaya-maṇḍala, sūkṣma-maṇḍala, pūjā-maṇḍala, caturmudrā-maṇḍala, ekamudrā-maṇḍala, naya-maṇḍala, Trailokyavijaya-karma-maṇḍala, Trailokyavijaya-samaya-maṇḍala.* The central *Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala* is also known as the *karmamaṇḍala* or under its Japanese name of Jojinne. In the Tendai sect in Japan only the Jojinne *maṇḍala* is used: that is, it does not form a part of another *maṇḍala* but it is independent and primary.

As Vajrabodhi carried the *Vajraśekhara-tantra* of the *yoga-tantra* division, it must have been the most prevalent school at Kanchi. There were close trade and cultural relations between the South and Śrīvijaya. The shipping routes to China from the South went via Śrīvijaya. Vajrabodhi visited Śrīvijaya on his way to Canton. A colony of Buddhists from Śrīvijaya resided at Nāgapaṭṭinam, where they erected two Buddhist temples at the beginning of the eleventh century with the patronage of Coḷa kings. The golden age of Buddhism at Nāgapaṭṭinam was the 8-9th century. The central image of the Buddhist vihāra in this city was made of solid gold. The Vaiṣṇava saint Āḻvār Tirumangai wanted to renovate the Raṅganātha temple of Śrīrangam. « He hit upon the idea of robbing the Buddhist Vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam of its Buddha

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image of solid gold. In this project, the information given by an old Vaiṣṇava lady residing at Nāgapaṭṭinam was very useful. It was to this effect: « The sthapati who made this golden image and the Vimāna under which it is enshrined lives at present in *dvīpāntara* ». This statement was enough to send Tiru-mangai to *dvīpāntara* where he had no great difficulty in identifying the house of the celebrated artist and architect and getting him, by a ruse, to surrender the secret of the construction of the *vimāna*, which enabled the Āḻvār to enter the temple stealthily and remove the golden image according to plan (Ramachandran 1954: 15). The word *paṭṭinam* itself denotes a settlement of sambaras, i.e. those who paid allegiance to Buddhist monks and were rich maritime merchants. The aforesaid event attests flourishing communications between India and Indonesia in the eighth century. During this period *yoga-tantra* Buddhism was well-established in the Pallava domains as is attested by the fact that Vajrabodhi transmitted the *yoga-tantra* Vajraśekhara to East Asia in the beginning of this century. It is but natural that the division of Buddhist *tantras* that was transmitted to Indonesia must have been the *yoga-tantras*. The Chandi Sewu belongs to this century. An inscription dated 792 was found on the site of Chandi Sewu, which suggests that its construction commenced thereabout. No wonder that the Sewu embodied the great philosophical system of *yoga-tantras* in its architecture. Architectonic *maṇḍalas* are known as *pura-maṇḍala* as distinct from *rajo-maṇḍala* drawn with powdered colours or *paṭa-maṇḍala* painted on textiles.

After these preliminary observations, let us consider the article of Bosch (1929: 111-133) on the identification of the Sewu. He commences by mentioning Buddhist texts like the Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyu-sūtra and Kalpabuddha besides the well-known Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan. The first two have rightly been recognised by Bosch as deriving their value by « mentioning the names of the five Dhyānibuddhas and some of their principal attributes and characteristics » (p. 113). He has also pointed out their close relationship and that they are complementary to each other. He further surmised that these two texts « had their common origin in the texts of the same sect or school ». With advances in the analysis of the interrelationship of the vast mass of Tantric literature on the basis of Tibetan works of great masters like Bu-ston, Tsoṅ-kha-pa and others it has become possible to define the precise division of tantras to which the two Indonesian texts belong. As already detailed the *tantras* were classified in four major divisions in ancient India, Nepal, Tibet and elsewhere. The details of this classification have not only been preserved, commented upon at length, but is still a living tradition among Tibetans. It supplies us with all the requisite data to assign the precise school to the Indonesian text and also determine the major manifestation of the division in question as an iconographic representation in the form of a *maṇḍala* either on cloth or in an architectural form. Out of the four divisions of tantras there are two whose central

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deity is Vairocana, namely, the *caryā-tantras* and *yoga-tantras*. The *caryā-tantras* are represented by the texts of *Mahāvairocan -ābhisambodhi-vikurvitādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendra-rāja* (Toh. 494 = Sino-Japanese text T. 848 = Nj. 530) and the *Acala-kalpa* (Toh. 495). The major texts of the *yoga-tantras* are the *Tattva-saṅgraha* and its explanatory tantra entitled the Vajraśekhara. Vairocana has separate and distinctive forms in these two divisions of *tantras*: in the *yoga-tantras* he is in the *bodhyagrī-mudrā* while in the *caryā-tantras* he is in *dhyāna-mudrā*. Both these forms are clearly delineated in the Indian, Nepalese, Tibetan and Sino-Japanese traditions. The iconography can be seen, for instance in the *Vajradhātu* and *Garbhadhātu maṇḍalas* of the Shingon tradition: the Vajradhātu Vairocana is in the *bodhyagrī mudrā* while the Garbhadhātu Vairocana is in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. Both the Indonesian texts define the *mudrā* of Vairocana as *bodhyagrī*, which unequivocally proves that the Tantric school which was prevalent in Indonesia was that of the *yoga-tantras*. In the *Niṣpanna-yogāvalī* (Bhattacharyya 1949: 44-47 of text) the iconography of the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* is described in details following the *Vajraśekhara-tantra*. The central deity can be either (i) a four-faced eight-armed Vairocana or (ii) one-faced two-armed Vairocana both in the *bodhyagrī mudrā* which is described as the left fore-finger in the *vajra*-fist (*vajra-muṣṭi*) being enclosed by the right *vajra*-fist: *vāme vajra-muṣṭes tarjanyā utthitāyā dakṣiṇe vajra-muṣṭinā grahaṇe sati bodhyaṅgī mudrā* (p. 44). Bosch had intuitively written: « a point demanding a moment's attention is the name of the mudrā of Vairocana which in both manuscripts reads *bodhyagrī mudrā*, the same *mudrā* that is mentioned in the *Ādikarmapradīpa* and in the Oldjavanese *Arjunawijaya* and *Sutasoma* » (p. 115). It demanded not a moment's attention but was crucial to the identification of the specific school of Vairocana in Indonesia and consequently of his *maṇḍala*. The intuition of Bosch is striking indeed.

Bosch (p. 116) raises the question of the paradise's of the Five Tathāgatas. He says: « Although the rigid parallelism prevailing in all matters concerning the Tathāgatas would lead us to expect that to the other Dhyānibuddhas a heaven of their own would have been assigned as well, it is noteworthy that nowhere in buddhist literature mention is made of these heavens. The mahayanist sources thus being silent on this point, it is rather surprising to find the complete set of five paradises in both Balinese manuscripts... ». I have edited the *Dharma-kośa-saṅgraha*, a Sanskrit text from Nepal, which names the five heavens as follows on p. 21:

Vairocana	Vajradhātu bhuvana
Akṣobhya	Abhirati bhuvana
Ratnasambhava	Ratnāvatī bhuvana
Amitābha	Sukhāvatī bhuvana
Amoghasiddhi	Amoghavatī bhuvana

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in slightly different expressions: *Sahavatī ṅaran iṅ kaḍatwanira*, and Kusumita-lokadhātu for Amoghasiddha. The Kalpabuddha repeats them in slightly different expressions: *Sahavatī ṅaran iṅ kaḍatwanira*, and *Kusumita ṅara iṅ kaswargganira* (Bosch 1929: 131, 132). This variation in the names of two paradises may be sought in the parallel *caryā-tantra* tradition of Vairocana where he is surrounded by Ratnaketu in the east, Saṅkusumita-rāja in the south, Amitābha in the west, Divyadundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa in the north. Kusumita-lokadhātu may be connected with Saṅkusumita-rāja (Lokesh Chandra 1972: pl. 1-5, Tajima 1959: 77). The whole question merits further investigation.

The Balinese *Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyu-sūtra* gives the *krodha* counterparts of the Five Tathāgatas or their wrathful aspects. It is not appropriate to term them « demoniac aspects » as done by Bosch. In the Balinese manuscript they are:

Direction	*Tathāgata*	*Krodha*	*Myō-ō (Jap.) = Vidyārāja*
Centre	Vairocana	Navabhava	Acala
East	Akṣobhya	Yamamararāja	Trailokyavijaya
South	Ratnasambhava	Siṁhavāhana	Kuṇḍalī
West	Amitābha	Matthana	Yamāntaka
North	Amoghasiddha	Vatsala	Vajrayakṣa

Bosch compares them with the Five Vidyārāja, Godai Myō-ō in Japanese, who are of furious appearance to destroy all sorts of evil spirits on the orders of Mahāvairocana (JEBD. 1965: 208a s.v. Myō-ō). They have an angry visage and ferocious forms to combat demoniacal forces of evil, but are not demoniacal themselves as contended by Bosch. The Five Vidyārājas have been contraposed here according to the direction corresponding to the Five Tathāgatas. Navabhava may mean « the Newly Arisen » Acala, Matthana can be a corruption of Ya-mantaka where *Ya* was misunderstood as the Oldjavanese *ya* « this », and Vatsala can be a reflection of *vajra* pronounced as *vadzara*. Bosch refers to the highly evolved and late Tibetan iconography of Yamāntaka with 9 heads, 34 arms and 16 legs, who held fear-inspiring lugubrious attributes from the cemetery and he opines that « the appearance of vatsala and of the other *vidyārājas* cannot have differed much from that of Yamāntaka » (p. 118). Yamāntaka did not have only this form. The forms of this deity showed wide divergences according to its Tantric division or subdivision. In the earlier tradition of the *Mahā-Vairocana-tantra* as preserved in Japanese iconography (as well as in the text) Yamāntaka has 6 heads, 6 arms and 6 legs (Lokesh Chandra 1972: pl. 23). Here he holds no gruesome implements. He wields a scimitar, mace (*gadā*), trident and cakra while both his original hands are in the *dharma-mudrā*. The Indonesian icons must have been closer to the Japanese forms which conform to the early Sanskrit texts. Besides, the traditions of both the countries belong to the same period of transmis-

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sion from India in the middle of the eighth century. Vatsala need not be interpreted as an euphemism. The precise identification and interpretation of Buddhist Tantric iconography suffers from lack of exact correlation of the various iconic forms back to the relevant texts whence they arose. But, Kuṇḍalī never rides a lion (*siṁha*), as can be ascertained from Japanese iconographic texts. In the *yoga-tantras* Yamāntaka, Kuṇḍalī, Vajrayakṣa, and Acala are represented in the *Trailokyavijaya-karma-maṇḍala* in peaceful aspects (Lokesh Chandra 1972: pl. 785-788). In their angry appearances they are represented in the *caryā-tantras* which are delineated in the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala.* Here in the Quarter of Vidyādharas are shown Acala (SW), Vajrahūṁkāra or Trailokyavajra, Prajñāpāramitā (centre), Yamāntaka and Trailokyavijaya (NW). The Balinese text may interpolate the *caryā-tantra* tradition into the *yoga-tantras*, or represents a *yoga-tantra* school which has to be traced in the maze of Tibetan Tantric literature.

Next, Bosch (p. 118-120) takes up the *parivāra-devatās* of the Five Tathāgatas as specified in the Balinese manuscripts of the Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra and Kalpabuddha. He refers to the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan and to variations in its manuscripts A and B. This text needs a critical edition by collating all the manuscripts and by taking into account the new light on Tantric tradition of India, Nepal, Japan and Tibet. Bosch lamented the lacuna of comparable materials: « after having looked in vain in the Nepalese and Tibetan pantheons for anything comparable with the said vajra-deities » (p. 119). All the deities are found in Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, but modern historians of art are reclutant to touch! the source-texts and the stalemate in further identifications or confirmation of previous identifications continues. The *parivāra-devatās* of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* are not only mentioned but their attributes specified at length in the Sanskrit texts found from Nepal: *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta (text pp. 44-47), *Dharmakośa-saṅgraha* (pp. 79-83), *Kriyāsaṅgraha, Kriyāsamuccaya,* etc. All the *parivāra-devatās* are described in full details in Classical Tibetan texts and commentaries of the division of *yoga-tantras* (Kanjur: Toh. 479, 480, Tanjur: Toh. 2501-2531) which are translations of Sanskrit originals. Texts 2504, 2516, and 2529 detail the liturgy and delineation of the *mahāmaṇḍala* (rightly so termed) of Vajradhātu, of the Tathāgata family, with 1037 deities as enunciated in the first chapter of the *mūla-tantra Tattva-saṅgraha.* This is illustrated in the *New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon,* part 13 no. 22. Prof. Tucci (1935: III/1.39ff) has described the *maṇḍala* of Vairocana according to the Tattvasaṅgraha at the Tabo monastery of the 10-11th century, alongwith all the attendant deities.

Bosch compares the pantheon of the Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra and Kalpabuddha with the *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala,* the central *maṇḍala* of the Japanese Vajradhātu (Jap. Kongōkai). The twin *maṇḍalas* (Jap. genzu mandara) of Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu were taken to Japan by Kōbō daishi in A.D. 806. His master Hui-kuo had them drawn for him.

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Different transmissions were synthesised on two scrolls. The Japanese *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is not one *maṇḍala*. It is a collection of nine *maṇḍalas*: comprising 6 types of *Vajradhātu maṇḍalas*, 1 *Naya-maṇḍala* and 2 types of *Trailokyavijaya maṇḍalas*. The three represent different subdivisions of the *yoga-tantras*. Within the *yoga-tantras*, there are two explanatory tantras from the *upāya* and *prajñā* standpoints. The *Vajradhātu maṇḍalas* represent the various steps of the path in the basic *tantra Tattva-saṅgraha*. The *naya-maṇḍala* represents the *Naya-sūtra* which is explanatory from the *prajñā* standpoint. The *Trailokyavijaya* is explanatory from the *upāya* view of the second section (*vajra-kula*) of the *Tattva-saṅgraha* (Wayman 1973: 236). In Tibet they are separate *maṇḍalas*. The most important among them is the central *maṇḍala* which is rightly termed a *daimandara* (= *mahāmaṇḍala*) in the Japanese tradition, and is also known as the Jōjin-ne (*kāyamaṇḍala*) and *karma-maṇḍala*. Originally it was not the central part of a composite *maṇḍala*, but it was the primary *maṇḍala* of the *yoga-tantras*, with an independent existence of its own. In the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and also in the Tibetan tradition it has an entity of its own. Though Bosch had nearly arrived at a correct conclusion regarding the Chandi Sewu being the *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala*, he was beset with doubts by the fact that the *mahāmaṇḍala* was only « the central square of the *maṇḍala* », a part of the whole, and how could a part be an integrality of a gigantic monument that the Chandi Sewu is and was intended to be. Hence we have pointed out its sovereign existence as a separate entity of its basic *tantra*: the *Tattvasaṅgraha*.

A few terminological corrections have to be effected in Bosch p. 121: the so-called Sacrificing Tārās should be changed to Pūjā-devīs, the Commanding Tārās to Saṅgraha-Tārās.

Bosch is perfectly right in saying that Vajradhātu deities embody themselves in the Sewu complex. Though its niches have been spoiled of their invaluable bronzes, the entire plan is a confirmation. The central temple enshrined Vairocana, while the four surrounding cellas housed the other four Tathāgatas Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddha and their niches the *parivāra-devatās* of each of the five Tathāgatas. The east cella of Akṣobhya was the antechamber whence the devotee entered the constellation of winding structures on his circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*). In the central temple there are arrangements for 24 deities instead of 25 as required by the text. Bosch proposes that the *prajñā* (consort) of Vairocana, Sattvavajrī (Vajradevī, Vajrasattvātmikā, or Vajradhātvīśvarī) was fused with the consort of Akṣobhya: Vajradhātvīśvarī the consort of Vairocana and Locanā the consort of Akṣobhya are one quintessentially (Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan p. 115).

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Thus the 37 deities of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍada* were represented as follows:

24	Five Tathāgatas with their attendant deities
4	*pūjā-devīs* as the four corners of the buildings
8	*pūjā*-and *saṅgraha-devīs* in the medium chapel (remains of five have been laid bare)
36	

The four rows of 240 subsidiary chapels housed the Thousand Buddhas. Each of these chapels housed 4 of the Thousand Buddhas, thus giving a total of $240 \times 4 = 960$ Buddhas. It suited the architectural requirements of every chapel that one of the Thousand Buddhas be placed in the centre and three others in the niches in the three walls, while the fourth side being the entrance-portal was empty. Bosch surmises that thousand means « very many » and 240 could suffice for a Thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa, « the founder of the complex... erected "merely" 240 sanctuaries for harbouring the Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa ». This surmise is unnecessary. In our scheme, 240 chapels enshrined 960 Buddhas. The total of 1000 was made up as follows:

36	deities in the central temple
4	deities of Elements in the corners as in the Japanese *Mahāmaṇḍala*
960	Thousand Buddhas
1000	

In the Japanese *mahāmaṇḍala* the four deities of the Elements, namely, Teja, Āpaḥ, Vāyu and Pṛthvī are situated in the four corners (Lokesh Chandra 1972: pl. 464-467). These statues must have been placed in the corners of the enceinte under the open sky, or vestiges of lost chapels may be exhumed in future excavations. The expression Chandi Sewu can thus go back to ancient times, even to the eighth century (Fontein et al 1971: 144 no. 4) when the visualisation and construction of the gigantic ensemble took place. Thus the founder of the Sewu complex was conscious and financially capable of constructing a *maṇḍala* of precisely one thousand deities. The apprehension of Bosch about « remaining within the bounds of his material resources » (p. 130) cannot hold good.

The patron of the Sewu *mahāmaṇḍala* must have been a king of the Śailendra dynasty who dedicated this ensemble to Vairocana as the Cakravartin, that is, « Universal Monarch ». In Japan, Vairocana in his form as Dainichi-kinrin « Vairocana Cakravartī » is depicted mounted on a lion and enclosed within a *cakra*. In the Kalpabuddha (Bosch p. 132) too Vairocana's weapon is *cakra* (*cakra sañjata nira*) and he rides a lion (*siṅgh ātutuṅgaṅanira*). Cakra is the prime symbol of the

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universal dominion of a *cakravartin*, and the lion the emblem of his unchallenged prowess. In Japan most of the iconographic manuals have the *cakravarti-maṇḍala* of Vairocana where he is surrounded by the *sapta-ratna* or seven constituents of the state: queen, minister, commander-in-chief, horse, elephant, *cintāmaṇi* jewel and *cakra*. For example, in the 12th century Besson-zakki by Shinkaku (A.D. 1117-1180) pl. 29; Shoson-zuzō by Shinkaku (A.D. 1117-1180) pl. 8-9; Kakuzen-shō « collection of *maṇḍalas* described and drawn by Kakuzen » about A.D. 1183-1213, pl. 63-64; Mandara-shū « collection of *maṇḍala* », compiled by Kōnen, pl. 7-8, which exists in a copy of A.D. 1187; Asabashō compiled by Shōchō (A.D. 1205-1282) chapter 264. An investigation of the rituals of Cakravarti-Vairocana in Japanese texts like the Asabashō will help to clarify the function of the *Vairocana-mahāmaṇḍala* and its importance in the history of Classical Indonesia.

We have historic evidence of the eighth century that Vairocana did symbolise empirium. In Japan, emperor Shomu issued a rescript in A.D. 743 ordering the construction of the gigantic statue (*daibutsu*) of Vairocana, 16 metres in height, at the Tōdaiji monastery in his attempt to unify the nation in an awareness of its power, as an « apt symbol of the emperor as the controlling head of the state » (Kobayashi 1975: 22), as « an especially valuable political and religious symbol » (Kobayashi 1975: 25) to consolidate the sovereignty of the nation in a harmony of the emperor and his people on the deeper spiritual levels of a shared awareness: it was a « Grand National Temple ». When the old capital at Nara was abandoned and a new capital was established at Heian-kyō (modern Kyoto) in A.D. 794, the Tōji temple was an integral part of the metropolitan masterplan. It was « intended to invoke the protection of the divinities and thereby to assure the peace and prosperity » (Sawa 1972: 130) of the kingdom. It was placed in charge of Kōbō daishi himself, the great master who introduced Shingon Buddhism with its central deity of Vairocana. The temple was significantly termed Kyō-ō-gokoku-ji « temple for the protection of the state », which popularly came to be known as the Tōji (tō = east, ji = temple) as it was built on the east side of the city gate. The temples of Vairocana seem to have gained national dimensions as means of preempting threat to the security of the nation and securing protection of the head of the state. The Chandi Sewu demanding enormous resources must have been envisaged by a mighty king of the Śailendras for the peace and security of his person and of his realm, in an ever-continuing process of stabilisation of his dynasty. The continuity of the terrestrial maṇḍala or realm was affirmed in being consecrated by an eternal *mahāmaṇḍala* or cosmogram of Vairocana: *maṇḍalārthe mahāmaṇḍalaṁ* as we may put it in Sanskrit. The inscribed stone of A.D. 792 found in the ruins of Sewu may have to be reconsidered in a new light.

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L. A. VAN DAALEN

A NOTE ON *VIDHŪMA* OR *SADHŪMA IVA PĀVAKAḤ* AT *RĀMĀYAṆA* 1, 54, 28 AND 1, 55, 19

§ 0.0 At Rāṃ. 1, 54, 28 Vasiṣṭha is said to be: ... *paramakruddho daṇḍam udyamya satvaraḥ / vidhūma iva kālāgnir yamadaṇḍam ivāparam //. vidhūma* is read by the southern recension (S) except M4, whereas the northern recension (N) and M4 read *sadhūma*[1]. The other variants will not detain us. The same variance is seen at Rām. 1, 55, 19, which reads: *prājvalad brahmadaṇḍaś ca vasiṣṭhasya karodyataḥ / vidhūma iva kālāgnir yamadaṇḍa ivāparaḥ //*, where *vidhūma* is read by ten out of the sixteen S mss. (abbr.: 10/16 S) and *sadhūma* by N + 6/16 S.

Roughly speaking the text of the Rām. *Critical Edition* (*Crit. Ed.*)[2] follows the S rec., but is expurgated of interpolations detected with the aid of the N rec. The S rec. is perferred to the N rec. because the former contains more *ārṣa* forms, epicisms or whatever they are called; see the introductions to the volumes of the Crit. Ed.[3]. At Rām. 1, 54, 28 and 55, 19 we meet with instances, I think, of the general preference shown to the S rec.; however, it can be argued that we should adopt *sadhūma* at these place (at the latter place also supported by 6/16 S mss.) or that, at least, we should provisionally adopt it.

§ 0.1 There are more Rām. places where this variation (or a similar one) is seen (or where a number of mss. transmit the simile in either form, whereas the other do not) viz:

3, 7, 7 *viśikhair iva pāvakaiḥ* transmitted by S + NE; NW reads *vidhūmair i. p.* (The N rec. is sub-divided into three sub-recensions: W,

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1. The N *devanāgarī* mss. read *sadhūmam*; I take it that the non-*devanāgarī* N mss. and S can be trusted as far as the nominative is concerned.

2. G. H. Bhatt and others, *The Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, critically edited for the first time*, Baroda, 1960-75 (seven volumes).

3. The present author does not agree on this. On the contrary, he has tried to show that Vālmīki and the author(s) of Rām. I indulged in *saṃdhi*, versificatory and grammatical irregularities very seldom only (see: *Vālmīki's Sanskrit*, thesis Utrecht, Leiden, 1980).

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NW and NE; as far as Rām. III is concerned W is discarded as a separate sub-recension by the editor). See § 4.4.

3, 23, 15 *vidhūmo 'gnir ivotthitaḥ*; the simile is transmitted by a few mss. See. § 4.2.

3, 25, 17 *viśikhāḥ*, arrows, are said to be *sadhūmā iva pāvakāḥ* in S; the NE sub-recension except Ñ1 (NE-Ñ1) and the NW ms. D1 read *sadhūmā hemabhūṣaṇāḥ*; NW-D1 + Ñ1 read another variant. See § 4.5.

4, 30, 29 S + NW + Ñ1: *sadhūma iva pāvakaḥ*; NE-Ñ1: *vidhūma i. p.* See § 6.

6, 55, 122 (l.v.) (= « long verse », i.e. a verse in a longer metre than the *śloka*) the arrow with which Rāma kills Kumbhakarṇa is said to be *vidhūmavaiśvānaradīptadarśano* in N + 5/16 S, *sadhūmaº* in 10/16 S. See § 4.5.

6, 64, 7 Nikumbha or his mace (this point is not clear) is said to be *vidhūma iva pāvakaḥ* in S, *sadhūma i. p.* in N (passing over the variant of B2.3). See § 4.5.

6, 75, 17 Lakṣmaṇa is *vidhūma iva pāvakaḥ* in all the mss. except four N mss. (3/9 NE + 1/2 W): *sadhūma i. p.* See § 6.

This variation: *sadhūma / vidhūma* in this smile does not occur in the Rām. only, but it also occurs at some Mbh. places:

Mbh. 5, 73, 6 *sadhūma iva pāvakaḥ* in N + T2 + G1.2; T1 G4.5: *vidhūma*; G3: *nirdhūta*; M: *nirdhūma.* It is said of Bhīma. See § 6.

Mbh. 5, 129, 20 Kṛṣṇa is *sadhūma iva pāvakaḥ* in N + M; T G: *vidhūma i. p.* See § 4.4.

Mbh. 12, 6, 12 Yudhiṣṭhira is *s. i. p.* according to the N recension, but *v. i. p.* according to the S recension. See § 4.3.

Mbh. 13, 14, 136 (the object of comparison, *upamāna*, is here *kālasūrya*) Śiva's *śūlya* is called *vidhūmaṃ sārciṣaṃ kṛṣṇaṃ k. ivoditam*, six mss. (D1-3 T2.3 G4) reading *sadhūmam*. See § 4.5.

§ 0.2 The places listed above and those mentioned below (except Rām. 1, 54, 28 and 1, 55, 19 which were the starting point of this little investigation) were detected with the aid of Bhatt's *Pāda-index*[4] and Vaidya's *Pratīka-index*[5] sub vocibus *sadhūma* and *vidhūma*; out of the *pādas* there listed those have been studied which occur in Rām. I-VI, and as far as the Mbh. is concerned, which occur in the text of the critical edition. All the Rām. and Mbh. verse numbers refer to the critical editions.

There are certainly greater problems to be solved in the Mbh. and Rām. Nevertheless, we are facing here a problem of textual criticism of some importance. We can come nearer to its solution by calling to mind some of the applications of fire similes in general (some of the instances fall, strictly speaking, outside the scope of the article, because

4. G. B. Bhatt, *Pāda-index of Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*, vol. II (Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. 153), Baroda, 1966.

5. P. L. Vaidya, *The pratīka-index of the Mahābhārata*, vol. V, Poona, 1971.

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the comparison is expressed by *karmadhārayas* or compounds of the type °*saṃkāśa*, °*upama*; nevertheless, they are adduced because they illustrate the points at issue) (section 1); a solution of this problem of textual criticism may be furthered by having a closer look on the meaning of *kālāgni*-similes (2), on *sadhūma* and *vidhūma* as attributive adjuncts to fire outside similes (3) and on the meaning of the similes *sadhūma* and *vidhūma iva pāvakaḥ* at other places in the Mbh. and Rām. (4).

§ 1 There is no need to give a full description of the epic similes with fire as an *upamāna*. The reader is referred to Sharma (1964) [6], pp. 30-33. Some relevant points only are called to mind. A warrior may be compared to a fire, his weapons to its sparks and fuel or the hostile army may be regarded as its fuel. Rām. 3, 35, 15: *śarārciṣam anādhṛṣyaṃ cāpakhaḍgendhanaṃ raṇe / rāmāgniṃ sahasā dīptaṃ na praveṣṭuṃ tvam arhasi //*; Mbh. 9, 13, 12 (Pārtha = Arjuna): *tato 'dbhutaśarajvālo dhanuḥśabdānilo mahān / senendhanaṃ dadāhāśu tāvakaṃ pārthapāvakaḥ //*. Arrows frequently are compared to fire: Rām. 3, 3, 12; 11, 31 (simile); 24, 18; 25, 16; 29, 27; 60, 20; cf. 4, 11, 2 (most of the instances are compounds). Other weapons may be compared to fire, e.g. a *śūla* is said to be *jvalanopama* Rām. 3, 3, 14.

Not only missiles, but also kings, ascetics and brahmins are likened to fire [7]. As is well known a curse is considered to be a form of fire [8]; see e.g. Kālidāsa KS 4, 43, where a curse and its end are, implicitly, likened to lightning and rain. Consequently, a person who might pronounce a curse can be called *agnikalpa* (Rām. 1, 59, 6 *agnikalpo hi bhagavāñ śāpaṃ dāsyati roṣitaḥ /*).

Anger, also, is apt to be likened to fire [9]. The connexion is expressed in *karmadhārayas*: *kopānala* (Kālidāsa KS 4, 3 *harakopānalabhasma*, the ashes being of the body of Kāma, who was burnt by Siva's rage; as is the case with curses, to the Indian mind there is not only a connexion, but anger is regarded as a form of fire here); *kopāgni* (Rām. 4, 30, 13). Verses 45 f. of Jātaka IV, 26 (PTS) may be quoted: « whose anger (*kodho*) grows like fire with fuel and grass that blaze, / as the moon in the dark fortnight, so his honour waxes and decays. // He who quiets his anger, like a fire that fuel has none, as the moon in the light fortnight, his

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6. R. K. Sharma, *Elements of poetry*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964.

7. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

8. See J. Gonda, *Remarks on similes in Sanskrit literature*, Wageningen, 1939, p. 73 f.; A. A. M. Scharpé, *Bāṇa's Kādambarī*, thesis Utrecht, Leuven, 1937, p. 96: « Merkwaardig is, dat de toorn[99], der vervloeking[100] en de koninklijke majesteit[101] als een vuur worden voorgesteld ». In the footnotes 99-101 Scharpé lists some instances.

9. See Scharpé, *loc. cit.*, and his footnote 99.

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honour waxes well grown »[10]. Notice that it is possible to roughly express the relative level of someone's anger by means of a simile; cf. Rām. 4, 30, 19 *babhūva dviguṇaṃ kruddho bahvindhana ivānalaḥ*. The idea of growing intensity is also expressed by the simile at Rām. 6, 63, 45: *agner ājyahutasyeva tejas tasyābhyavardhata* //. On the other hand « warriors, missiles, or armor, when devoid of their usual splendor, are likened to fires with flames extinguished »[11], see e.g. Rām. 3, 49, 39 (l.v.) — said of the vanquished Jaṭāyus —: *śāntam ivāgnidāvam*; see also: 4, 18, 2; cf. 4, 17, 9 and 6, 63, 1484*. Below I will suggest that the simile *sadhūma iva pāvaka*, « like a fire covered with smoke », may, among other things, express that the subject of comparison is withholding, hiding his brilliance, his fiery intensity, his anger, or when excited, is going to calm down.

§ 2 *Kālāgni*, the fire at the end of a world-period, destroys, and, of course, this did not escape notice[12]. There are indeed similes with *kālāgni*, or the *saṃvartaka*-fire, or *yugāntakānala* or similar expressions, whose *tertium comparationis* is destruction, death. However, it should be emphasized that also *krodha (roṣa, kopa)* may be the *tertium comparationis*[13]. Rām. 1, 1, 8 ff. and esp. 1, 1, 17 offer us a clue in this respect. At 1, 1, 8 ff. the qualities of Rāma are enumerated. At 15 Rāma is said to be the person to whom the *santas*, « the strict », gather as the rivers to the ocean. He is like the ocean in *gāmbhīrya* (« depth », « imperturbability »), like the Himalaya in firmness (16), similar to Viṣṇu in *vīrya* (« the wondrous power of a great being »[14]), grateful to the sight as the moon, equal to earth in *kṣamā* (« forbearance ») (17); he is like Kubera in generosity, in truthfulness the personification of Dharma (18) and similar to *kālāgni* in *krodha* (17: *kālāgni sadṛśaḥ krodhe*). Rāma is stated here to posses the essential, or at least an essential, quality which characterizes the ocean, the earth etc. We can infer from this that a very important aspect of *kālāgni* is its *krodha*. In a number of verses the very word(s) *krodha (kopa)* and *(sam)kruddha (kupita)*, either or

10. Transl. by H. T. Francis, B. A. Neil, PTS, London, 1957. Two articles of Mrs. C. A.F. Rhys Davids have been made use of: *Similes in the Nikāyas, a classified index*, « Journal of the Pāli Text Society », 1906-7, p. 52 ff. And *Similes..., some additions and corrections*, ibidem, 1908, p. 180 ff.

11. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 33, referring to Mbh. 1, 169, 23.

12. See A. Holtzmann, *Agni nach den Vorstellungen des Mahābhārata*, Strassburg-London, 1878, p. 8; E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (Grundriss, Strassburg, 1915), Delhi, 1974, pp. 99; 106; M. M. Pathak, *Similes in the Rāmāyaṇa*, Baroda, 1968, p. 130 ff.

13. Pathak, *op. cit.*, p. 130 f., states that the aim of these similes with the fire of destruction as an object of comparison is to describe, to express « the fierceness of some person », « the vehement personality of some warrior », « a dangerous and fatal weapon », « the disastrous and awe-inspiring personality » or (p. 138) « the dreadfulness of the person or the weapon ».

14. On this sense cf. T. Goudriaan, *Vīrya- and vīra- in Balinese Sanskrit hymns*, in « Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture, I », comm. vol. on the 69th birthday of Acharya Raghu Vira, New Delhi, 1972. Viṣṇu's three steps are called his *vīryāṇi*: see Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Delhi, 1969², p. 118 f., cf. p. 123.

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both, occur besides the *kālāgni*-simile: e.g. Rām. 3, 23, 25 f.; 3, 60, 1191*, 10+11; 3, 61, 1-6; 5, 34, 12; 6, 47, 72; 6, 58, 47; 6, 80, 20; cf. Rām 4, 11, 2 and 4, 30, 31. The words *krodha* and *kruddha* may occur in a verse at a near distance of a verse with the simile in question: see e.g. 6, 73, 18 and 23; 6, 83, 2 and 3. The hero who is compared to *kālāgni* may work some destruction, but the limelight is set on his rage, for there are cases where the hero in question returns home without having attained his object, without ado disappears from the scene, is defeated or even does nothing at all: 6, 47, 72 ff. (of Nīla, the monkey general is said *kalāgnir iva jajvāla krodhena*; his prowess is great, yet he is a loser); 6, 55, 30 - 6, 56, 8 (Kumbhakarṇa plays havoc among the monkeys, but he is slain; at 6, 56, 8 Rāvaṇa laments: *katham evaṃvidho vīro devadānavadarpahā / kālāgnipratimo hy adya rāghaveṇa raṇe hataḥ //*); 6, 80, 20 ff. (Rāvaṇa intends to kill Sītā, but his ministers withhold him); 7, 23, 37 (Rāvaṇa is fighting the sons of Varuṇa without being able to kill them, since Varuṇa is not at home, he returns to Laṅkā) [15]. If the *tertium comparationis* is destruction, it is obvious that *kālāgni* in the simile is burning fiercely and this can be expressed by the adjective *vidhūma*, « smokeless ». But if it is *krodha* that is in the picture, I would suggest that the simile *sadhūma iva pāvakaḥ* can be used to express that somebody, though enraged, has calmed down or is going to calm down.

§ 3 There is no smoke without fire: *dhūma paññāṇam aggino* (Jāt. 6, 508); the ocean when its waves are covered with mist, *dhūma*, gives the impression of burning: Rām. 6, 90, 28. However, in the simile *sadhūma iva pāvakaḥ sadhūma* does not set us on the track of a fire being present, but it tels us that this fire is not burning as fiercely as it might. Fires, when united, are burning, but they, when separated, end up in smoke, *dhūmāyante*: Mbh. 5, 61, 19. When Paraśurāma is going to be defeated he is *dhūmaśeṣa iva dhūmaketanaḥ* (Kālidāsa Rgh. 11, 81). Cf. Kāl. KS 4, 30 (Rati is speaking; at 4, 27 she has shown Spring the remains of Kāma, a heap of ashes): *gata eva na te* (Spring) *nivartate sa sakhā* (Kāma) *dīpa ivānilāhataḥ / aham asya daśeva paśya mām aviṣahyavyasanena dhūmitām //*. Smoke need not only express that the fire is not burning fiercely or is near extinction, it may also denote that the fire is only beginning to burn, that we can expect to see the energy waxing of the subject of comparison. See the commentator Govindarāja [16] ad Rām. 4, 16, 347* (l.v.; = B. 4, 16, 37; Rāma discharged an arrow: *... śarottamam... / sasarja... sadhūmam agniṃ mukhato yathā haraḥ //*) *sadhūmam ity anena jvālonmukhatvam ucyate*. Cf. Kāl Rgh. 17, 34. On the other hand *vidhūma* is used to describe the great conflagration of the Khāṇḍava-forest: Mbh. 1, 219, 32. Cf. Rām. 6, 60, 24; Kāl. Rgh. 10, 74.

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15. Mbh. 12, 248, 16 ff. tells us that *kālāgni* arouse from Brahma's body, out of the latter's rage since he could not devise the means for destroying the world; at 16 *roṣa* occurs, at 17 *°kopa°*, at 249, 5 *krodha*.

16. Quoted from the Rām. edition of GAṄGĀVIṢṆU ŚRĪKṚṢṆADĀS, Bombay, 1935.

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A smoky-fire arises when weapons or elephants tusks are striking against each other: Mbh. 7, 19, 39; 9, 56, 29; Rām. 6, 78, 1723*, 2. I think sparks wich may be emitted at a clash of weapons have been the starting point of these hyperbolic expressions; but the hyperbole is somewhat mitigated, because the authors do not imagine these fires to burn fiercely. The poets may likewise see a small fire only in their imagination when they say that winds with smoke and sparks (Mbh. 1, 16, 15) or flames and smoke (Mbh. 3, 193, 22; 5, 129, 11; 20) or a *sadhūmam... jvālam* (Rām. 6, 63, 1481*, 4) come forth out of an orifice of some person's body. And, may be, not anything beyond this is conveyed when such a thing is said in a simile: Rām. 1, 55, 18: *romakūpeṣu sarveṣu vasiṣṭhasya... / marīcya iva niṣpetur agner dhūmākulārciṣaḥ //* and Rām. 4, 16, 347* quoted above.

§ 4.1 The Supreme Soul can be likened to a fire devoid of smoke: *vidhūma iva saptārcir, vidhūmam iva pāvakam, v.l. dīptārcir*, resp. Mbh. 12, 294, 20; 242, 7; 232, 18. At Mbh. 13, 14, 115 Śiva is called *v. i. p.*; at Mbh. 12, 311, 11 Śuka is called *v. 'gnir iva jvalan* (v.l.: *v. i. p.*) after his birth from Vyāsa's seed and an *araṇī*. When Śuka is dwelling in Brahma he is also called *v. 'gnir i. j.* at Mbh. 12, 320, 3. The Kabandha, when cremated under glorious and wondrous circumstances, is called *v. 'gnir ivotthitaḥ*: Rām. 3, 68, 4 (S rec.; NW reads the adjective *vidhūmo*, the NE has an entirely different reading. Cf. Mbh. 7, 165, 57 (said of Droṇa, ascending to heaven) *vidhūmām iva saṃyāntīm ulkāṃ prajvalitām iva.* At Mbh. 6, 7, 8 the Meru Mountain is called *v. i. p.*, as is Hanuman's mouth at Rām. 4, 66, 4, just before his jump to Laṅkā.

§ 4.2 Brilliance is also the *tertium comparationis* in those similes whose subject of comparison is a hero who is murdering, slaughtering, dispersing a good many of his foes or will soon do so or is victorious already [17]. See Mbh. 6, 45, 56; 105, 33; 112, 122; 7, 90, 49; 161, 21 (v.l.: *v. 'gnir i. j.*); 165, 16 (v.l.: *v. 'gnir i. j.*) and 8, 45, 40, all with the simile *vidhūmo iva pāvakaḥ*; see also Mbh. 1, 96, 28; 6, 96, 9; 7, 164, 83; 8, 19, 35; 37, 35; 56, 35 and 9, 13, 18, all with the simile *vidhūmo 'gnir iva jvalan.* At Rām. 3, 23, 15 (listed in § 0.1) Rāma is said to have become *timire vidhūma 'gnir ivotthitaḥ* just before his glorious fight with 14.000 rākṣasas. This simile is in keeping with the above; it has little ms.-support, but this will not detain us at present.

§ 4.3 Sarga 2, 106 of the Rām. describes the state of Ayodhyā when Bharata enters it having failed to persuade Rāma to return to the city in order to become its king. The city's aspect is rather desolate. Śl. 5 forms part of the description of Ayodhyā: *vidhūmām iva hemābhām adhvarāgnisamutthitām / havirabhyukṣitām paścāc chikhāṃ vipralayaṃ*

17. Cf. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

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gatām //. The former, healthier state, which was anything but sad, is expressed, among other words, by *vidhūma*. On the other hand *sadhūma iva pāvaka* can describe the sadness of the subject of comparison [18], see Mbh. 14, 11, 2: *taṃ nṛpaṃ* (= Yudhiṣṭhira) *dīnamanasaṃ mihatajñātibāndhavam / upaplutam ivādityaṃ s. i. pāvakam // nirviṇṇamanasam pārtham...* After having heard of Karṇa's death and reflecting on how many have been killed Yudhiṣṭhira is very sad; Mbh. 12, 6, 12: *tataḥ śokaparītātmā sadhūma iva pāvakaḥ / nirvedam akarod dhīmān rājā saṃtāpapīḍitaḥ //* considering the above, the reading *sadhūma i. p.* is no doubt right (see § 0.1).

§ 4.4 According to Sharma [19] « fire hidden by smoke or ashes signifies sometimes beauty, sometimes brilliance, covered with some casual external circumstances ». I would add that the simile can convey that the true character, nature of the subject of comparison is hidden, if that nature happens to be brilliant. Sharma refers to Mbh. 3, 65, 7 (Damayantī separated from her husband is compared to the light of fire covered with a mass of smoke) and Mbh. 1, 178, 9 (the Pāṇḍavas disguised as brahmins attending Draupadī's *svayaṃvara* are like fires covered with ashes [20]. See also Rām. 4, 26, 14, which is a concluding remark of Lakṣmaṇa, who has tried to encourage Rāma: *aham tu khalu te vīryaṃ prasuptaṃ pratibodhaye / dīptair āhutibhiḥ kāle bhasmāchannam ivānalam //*; Laksmaṇa intends to express, I think, that Rāma's eminence does not come to the fore. This simile can also be used to express that the subject of comparison, *karma*, is a hidden potential, see Jātaka VI, 236 (and 237 f.) where it is told that evil deeds do not bear fruit in the immediately succeeding existence but only in the second and following existences (*taṁ kammaṁ nihitam aṭṭhā bhasmācchanno va pāvako /*). A very similar use of this simile is found in Dhammapada v. 71 (cf. v. 69).

Let us have a look now at Mbh. 5, 129, 20, one of the cases mentioned in § 0.1. Kṛṣṇa had gone to the court of Dhṛtarāṣṭra in an attempt to prevent the imminent war between Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas. When he heard from Sātyaki (128, 12) that Duryodhana intended to make him a prisoner, he knew his mission had failed. In sarga 5, 129 he showed his true form, as a god. After he had assumed his human form again he left the assembly *sadhūma iva pāvakaḥ*; this reading is in keeping with the above: Kṛṣṇa's true nature is hidden. The reading *vidhūma i. p.* may have crept in later on, incongruous with the context, but in keeping with the glorious nature of Kṛṣṇa as a god: cf. § 4.1 (Śiva).

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18. Cf. Mbh. 9, 2, 2: *sadhūmam iva niḥśvasya karau dhunvan punaḥ punaḥ / vicintya ca mahārāja*, i.e. Dhṛtarāṣṭra to whom the news of the great battle is broken; cf. also Kāl. KS 4, 30 (see § 3). See also § 6 ad Rām. 4, 30, 29.

19. SHARMA, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

20. Cf. also Mbh. 6, 25, 38, partly quoted by SHARMA, *op. cit.*, p. 31: « As fire is covered with smoke, so knowledge is covered with desire ».

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As to Rām. 3, 7, 7 (mentoned in § 0.1) I take it that *viśikhair iva pāvakaiḥ* conveys the idea of a fire which is not burning fiercely, on the contrary, I think the commentator Govindarāja is right when he says *viśikhaiḥ vigatajvālaiḥ... guptamāhātmyair ity arthaḥ*; consequently, the idea expressed is very similar to that of the simile *sadhūma i. p.* discussed in this section. The reading in question at Rām. 3, 7, 7 can easily be explained, whereas the NW variant *vidhūmair i. p.* cannot. The subject of comparison are the munis, whom Rāma quotes at Rām. 3, 9, 13 f.[21]: *kāmaṃ tapaḥprabhāvena śaktā hantuṃ niśācarān / cirārjitaṃ tu necchāmas tapaḥ khaṇḍayituṃ vayam // bahuvighnaṃ tapo nityaṃ duścaraṃ caiva rāghava / tena śāpaṃ na muñcāmo bhakṣyamāṇāś ca rākṣasaiḥ //*. Tese munis do not pronounce a curse, they do not emit fire (see § 1) and we are prepared for it, if we read *sadhūmair i. p.* at 3, 7, 7.

§ 4.5 Four cases of § 0.1 (viz. Rām. 3, 25, 17; 6, 55, 122; 64, 7 and Mbh. 13, 14, 136) are concerned with the question whether a weapon (arrow[s], mace, Śiva's *śūla*) is likened to a smokeless fire or a fire covered with smoke. Let us first have a look at some cases where all the mss. agree on the point at issue, in order to see if they give a clue. Although it is not a simile, it is worth noticing that at Mbh. 5, 96, 18 Viṣṇu's *cakra* is said to be « permeated by a smokeless fire », *āviddham vidhūmena haviṣmatā*. At Mbh. 7, 172, 15 Aśvatthāman shooted his arrow at visible and invisible foes: *śaraṃ dīptaṃ vidhūmam iva pāvakam / sarvataḥ... cikṣepa*. The result was a tremendous shower of arrows. He himself is likened to the all-consuming *saṃvartaka-fire* (27). Maybe, it is relevant to observe that this arrow is called *astram āgneyam* (14), for although arrows can be likened to fire (see § 1) it is clear that they are not always likened to smokeless fires: see Rām. 6, 97, 8 ab: *sadhūmam iva kālāgnim dīptam āśīviṣam yathā /*, which is part of the description (3-13) of the arrow Rāma used to kill Rāvaṇa. One might have expected that this arrow, of all arrows, had been like a smokeless fire. Rāvaṇa's *śūla* also is likened to a fire covered with smoke, Rām. 6, 91, 11: *sadhūmam iva tīkṣṇāgraṃ yugāntāgnicayopamam*. We observe that the weapon of both victor and loser can be compared to a *sadhūma* fire. Consequently, no distinction can be drawn along the line victor/loser, neither along that of gods and men, for at Mbh. 1, 26, 43 the *cakras* of the gods who whish to defend the *amṛta* are *savisphuliṅgajvālāni sadhūmāni ca sarvaśaḥ /*. May we conclude provisionally, until the material is collected exhaustively, that, in similes, weapons are fires covered with smoke, unless there is a special reason to call them smokeless, as is, perhaps, the case at Mbh. 7, 172, 14-15 (*āgneyam astram*)?

Considering the above there is no reason for objecting to the reading *viśikhāḥ* (arrows) *sadhūma iva pāvakāḥ*, at Rām. 3, 25, 17, said of the

21. I take it that the munis mentioned at 3, 7, 7 and 3, 9, 13 f. are the same persons; cf. 3, 7, 5 f.

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arrows used by Rāma in his fight with 14.000 rākṣasas; there is no variant *vidhūma i. p.*; *s. i. p.* is possible; whether this reading should be chosen out of those available lies outside the scope of this article. As to the other three cases, if we wish to go beyond stating the problem, we can only suggest a provisional position: at Rām. 6, 55, 122 I would not adopt the reading the *Crit. Ed.* has accepted, but the 10/16 S variant *sadhūmavaiśvānaradīptadarśano*, said of the arrow with which Rāma kills Kumbhakarṇa. Who or which is the subject of the sentence at Rām. 6, 64, 7 is not quite clear. If it is Kumbhakarṇa, the problem would seem not too difficult: the N variant *sadhūma i. p.* should be adopted, considering the fact that Kumbhakarṇa is killed by Hanuman at *śloka* 23 and the use of the simile *vidhūma i. p.* described in § 4.2. If, however, the former's mace is the subject of the sentence, we still had better adopt the N variant, although we can be less sure then. Mbh. 13, 14, 136 occurs in a description of how Śiva appears in a vision. The subject of comparison is Śiva's *śūla*. The object is *vidhūmam* (or *sadhūmam*)... *kālasūryam*. It may be incorrect to choose either, if such a choice is based on an examination of a simile with a different object of comparison.

§ 5 The cases at Rām. 1, 54, 28 and 1, 55, 19 (see § 0.0) occur in the story of the struggle of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. In sarga 1, 53 Viśvāmitra attempted to carry away the cow Śabalā. She created all kinds of warriors who destroyed Viśvāmitra's forces. The latter engaged in penances (54, 12) and obtained weapons from Śiva (19), with which he attacked Vasiṣṭha's hermitage (21 ff.). After Vasiṣṭha had said to Viśvāmitra that he would lose his life because he had destroyed the hermitage, « snatching up his staff which was like a second rod of Yama he was very angry as the *kālāgni* (fire) covered with smoke » (54, 28). I disagree with the *Crit. Ed.* on its choice *vidhūma*; the N variant *sadhūma* should be defended. I think it is remarkable that in 1, 55, 1-17 Vasiṣṭha remains on the defensive destroying the missiles hurled at him by Viśvāmitra. The *tertium comparationis* at 54, 28 is *krodha* (notice the adjective *paramakruddho*; I admit that I suppose *parama°* in itself does not justify *vidhūma*). Of course if it is total destruction that is in the picture, *vidhūma* is only natural. But since it is *krodha*, the choice *sa°* / *vidhūma* depends on what the subject of comparison does — is he raging as a berserker or does he calm down, is he suppressing his fiery energy? Cf. § 4.2: the victoriously murdering hero is compared to a smokeless fire. When Vasiṣṭha destroyed Viśvāmitra's last weapon, *brahmāstra*, his appearance was anything but agreeable to the three worlds (55, 17). Rays (of fire) sprung forth from his body (18; mentioned in § 3). Śloka 19 is quoted in § 0.0, q.v. It is interesting to observe what was happening next. Munis praised Vasiṣṭha (20). « Viśvāmitra has been punished by you », they say to him; *prasīda*, « be pacified » (21). *evam ukto.. .śamaṃ cakre...* / (22). « after this was said to him... he calmed down ». At 22 Vasiṣṭha keeps quiet furthermore. At 1, 55, 19 it is, strictly speaking, Vasiṣṭha's staff which is the subject of comparison, and not

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Vasiṣṭha himself. If one clings to this distinction, *sadhūma* should be adopted for reasons similar to those set forth in § 4.5. In my opinion 1, 54, 28 and 55, 19 are on a par. However this may be, the results are the same. I regard Vasiṣṭha's behaviour here as very similar to that of the munis at Rām. 3, 7, 7 and 9, 13 f. (see § 4,4). Like these munis Vasiṣṭha is not like the heroes of § 4.2; on the contrary he keeps a check upon his true potential; and this is in my opinion the link of the smoky-fire-simile with the simile in which a fire covered with ashes is the object of comparison: see § 4.4. Consequently, I should adopt *sadhūma iva pāvakaḥ* both at Rām. 1, 54, 28 and at 1, 55, 19.

§ 6 Three cases out of the list of § 0.1 remain to be discussed: Mbh. 5, 73, 6; Rām. 4, 30, 29 and 6, 75, 17. In Mbh. 5,73 « Kṛṣṇa chides Bhīma for his leniency in spite of his well-known rancor »[22]. At śl. 4 the former says among other things: *anyadhā... yuddham eva praśaṃsasi*; 6: *niḥśvasann agnivarṇena saṃtaptaḥ svena manyunā / apraśāntamanā bhīma sadhūma i. p.* // Kṛṣṇa reminds Bhīma of is former fighting spirit; and I would guess that one of the S variants, *vi°* or *nirdhūma*, neither having been adopted by the *Crit. Ed.*, is more in keeping with this fighting spirit (see § 4.2) and with the adjective *apraśāntamanā*, « not allayed », aggressive[23].

At Rām. 6, 75, 17 the reading *sadhūma* (4 N mss.) has been rightly rejected by the Crit. Ed. Lakṣmaṇa and Indrajit are fighting with each other, the latter is killed by the former at 78, 32 ff. However, at 75, 17 Lakṣmaṇa's limbs are pierced by arrows, he is covered with blood, but *śuśubhe lakṣmaṇaḥ śrīmān vidhūma i. p.* // (17 cd.). I think *śuśubhe, śrīmān* and ultimately, his victory point to the correctness of the reading *vidhūma.*

Rām. 4, 30, 29 reads: *sa* (= Lakṣmaṇa) *dīrghoṣṇamahocchvāsaḥ kopa-raktalocanaḥ / babhūva naraśārdūlaḥ sadhūma iva pāvakaḥ.* Remember the expression *sadhūmam iva niḥśvasya*: see n. 18; Mbh. 5, 73, 6, quoted above, may be compared; perhaps also Mbh. 12, 6, 12 + 12, 7, 2 and Rām. 6, 83, 2 f.; there seems to be a connexion between *niḥśvas-* and a fire-simile; expect at the place mentioned last the fire is *sadhūma. Dhūma*, « vapor, mist » gives the impression that the sea is burning (see § 3). The explanation of this śloka is clear then. A change to *vidhūma* may have been caused by the wish to emphasize Lakṣmaṇa's anger. Lakṣmaṇa is angry, indeed, but he is pacified by Tārā, 4, 34, 15 ff.

Utrecht, January 1980.

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22. J. A. B. van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, vol. III (*The Book of Virāṭa* and *The Book of the Effort*), Chicago-London, 1978, p. 340 ad 5, 73, 1-10.

23. Cf. *Pali-English Dictionary*, Pali Text Society (1921-25), London, 1966 s.v. *vidhūma*: « "without smoke", i.e. passionless, quiet, emancipated...; *kodhadhūmavi-gamena...* ». If *praśāntamanas* more or less = Pāli *vidhūma*, might *apraśāntamanas* have evoked *sadhūma*?

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J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT

ADATTĀDĀNAM: VALUABLE BUDDHIST CASUISTRY

Adattādānam, « taking an object that has not been given to the taker », is an alternative, not quite a synonym, for *steya*, *caurya*, « theft ». The idea occurs in *dharmaśāstra*, naturally. The reason why it occurs rarely, whereas *steya* occurs frequently, is nowhere explained. In all the places where it does occur the commentators, almost without exception, gloss it by « *steya* »[1]. « *Steya* » itself is not explained by the commentators at the principal places where it occurs in *smṛti*[2]. It is treated as « well-known », « obvious ». This is not to say that some attempts have not been made by *śāstrīs* to define it. Vardhamāna says *steyaṃ nāma anaiyāyikaṃ para-sva-grahaṇam iti*, « theft is an unjust, or illegal, taking of the property of another »[3]. This is a good definition, since when a king takes a fine or confiscates a culprit's property he most certainly commits *adattādānam*, but it is not *steyam*. Similarly when a person entitled to tolls, usually the king or his licensee, takes tolls, this is *adattādānam* on his part, but it is not *steyam*. But what is *anaiyāyika*, « unjust », « unlawful »?

And there are other gaps. The *smṛtis* themselves do apply themselves fitfully to the problem. Kātyāyana, a *smṛtikāra* of a truly legal turn of mind, says[4],

pracchannaṃ vā prakāśaṃ vā niśāyām athavā divā
yat para-dravya-haraṇaṃ steyaṃ tat parikīrtitam.

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1. Aparārka on Yājñavalkya III.135, p. 998; Medhātithi on Manu VIII.340 (*adattādāyī coraḥ*). So Govindarāja, Kullūka, Nandana and Rāmacandra, ibid. Lakṣmīdhara, *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa*, p. 550, followed by Caṇḍeśvara, *Vivādaratnākara*, p. 341. Pratāparudra, *Sarasvatī-vilāsa*, p. 287. *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñ. III.136 is an exception (below).

2. E.g. Bhāruci and Medhātithi on Manu VIII.72.

3. *Daṇḍaviveka*, p. 80.

4. Kane's reconstituted text, 1933, v. 810, cf. 796. There is also Nārada XIV.17, « Taking away by any means whatsoever property of persons asleep, or disordered in intellect, or intoxicated, is declared to be theft by the wise ». This is inadequate. Yet it is all Keśava-paṇḍita can offer in his *Daṇḍanīti*, p. 15, by way of definition.

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No doubt some archaic mistakes are pushed aside here, but the end product is not impressive: «theft» is «the taking of the asset of another» whether by day or night, etc. The very extensive treatment by Nārada and Bṛhaspati, other legally-minded *smṛtikāras*, really amounts to this, that the poverty of the Sanskrit vocabulary is demonstrated along with the rich experience that India had (and has!) of every variety of dishonest handling of the property of others. «Theft» is applied to a very wide variety of cheating, misappropriation, embezzlement, fraud, and so on. The only careful exception is «robbery», which is treated as a separate crime, because of the ingredient of violence. The *smṛtis* give a luxurious treatment to the question what punishment should be inflicted on the various categories of «thieves», should they be made to compensate the owners, should penance as well as penalty be applied[5], and what steps ought to be taken to apprehend and suppress thieves[6]. The *arthaśāstra* is similarly silent on the jurisprudential ingredients in theft. These deficiencies are remarkable considering that one of the earliest *dharmasūtras*, that of the often unique and always original Āpastamba, does attempt an investigation of the nature of theft and actually cites the differing opinions of ancient teachers. He starts off by finding the germ of theft in the *formation of the intention to take another's asset* (*para-parigraham abhimanyate steno ha bhavati*: Āp. I.10.28,1), and goes on to discuss whether privileged takings are sinful even though not punishable. This seed of jurisprudential thought is soon stifled.

There are two places in the *smṛti* literature known to me, where the jurisprudential aspect of theft arises; and in one and the same place two important aspects of the subject are handled nearly simultaneously.

One context (theft of common property) can conveniently be left to the end; the other context is inheritance by an heir, or heirs, of property found in the estate of the deceased which is known, or strongly suspected, to have been acquired by him improperly, so that his own title was, in his lifetime, questionable. Not all aspects of this were ventilated, but the discussion reaches a high level. First the conclusion is made that the one who acquires from the improper acquirer (if so I may call him for short) is guilty, at second hand: for one way of controling theft, robbery, etc., is to make it difficult for the thief or robber to pass on his ill-gotten gains. Secondly it is concluded that the heir is not affected by his predecessor's misdeed of a moral character. This is a conclusion supported by *mīmāṃsā*, and an established Hindu position. Incidentally the question is raised whether after all a thief acquires title to what he has stolen.

5. Bṛhaspati XXII.22.
6. Manu VIII.311-343, IX.204-272. Nārada XIV, Appendix. Bṛhaspati XXII.

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It must be remembered that in ancient India there was a rudimentary law of limitation of actions, but it was quite unreliable in practice, and jurisprudentially insecure. The discussion therefore proceeded as if there were none. The proposition, that a thief could give good title to his successor, e.g. a donee[7], was founded on the idea that, although he would have no title at the moment of taking, the lapse of time would raise a presumption of a giving up of hope on the part of the true owner, whereupon the thief could give good title to a third party. There is much in this that appeals even to the modern lawyer, who knows that goods must circulate, and purchase in the open market will, given certain conditions, confer a good title even to stolen goods. However, the *śāstrīs* settled to the position that a thief could always in theory be ousted by the original owner if he brought proceedings, from which it follows that the thief never becomes owner until all chance of a lawsuit for recovery of the asset has passed[8].

Apart from the two contexts I know of, no inquiry arises into the aspects of theft which are regarded nowadays as essential to prosecution and conviction for the crime. Leaving aside cheating, embezzlement, fraud, etc., and keeping our attention solely on true theft we know what modern definitions require: there are certain ingredients. First there must be an object of sufficient value to attract the law's attention. Secondly the accused must be capable of crime. Thirdly the asset in question must belong to another, i.e. his own ownership over it must be excluded. Forthly his intention must have been (at least in some systems of law) permanently to deprive the owner of it. In these and such ways the different systems of the world require certain *ingredients* to be proved before a prosecution for theft will be upheld by the courts. The *dharmaśāstra* is silent on practically all of this.

And not only in respect of *steyam*. It is equally silent in respect of *adattādānam*, which is a term much wider than *steyam*, and much more sophisticated. One could have expected more of *adattādānam*. But we are disappointed.

Bṛhaspati is rather negative about people who take small quantities of other people's produce[9]. But it is clear from Manu that in emergencies, whether to life, or to sacrifices, certain takings without

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7. This is irrespective of the *smṛti* position that one should be punished for receiving from a thief and should perform a penance (including abandonment of the object). On stealing see Medh. on Manu V.110.

8. Vijñāneśvara, *Mitākṣarā, dāyabhāga* section, Colebrooke's divisions, I.i, 7-12, 15-16, contains the whole discussion. DERRETT, *Religion, Law and the State in India*, London, 1968, 139. On sale by one not the owner see P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. III, Poona, 1946, 462-65. On giving up hope see R. LINGAT, *Classical Law of India*, Berkeley and New Delhi, 1973, 71, 135, 160-5.

9. Bṛhaspati XXII.20. After all, such a negative view preceded Āpastamba (Āp. I.10,28,4, the context is *penance*). Nārada, too, has no counterpart to Manu VIII.339. See DERRETT, *Essays*, vol. II, 42, n. 131.

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permission are not punishable. In general, it is true, the *karmas* which lead to inauspicious rebirths, include *adattādānam* [10]:

adattānām upādānaṃ hiṃsā caivāvidhānataḥ
para-dāropasevā ca śārīraṃ trividhaṃ smṛtam.

No exception is made here for this stype of *svīkāra* (as Rāghavānanda and Rāmacandra render the expression). But in a verse attributed in one place to Yājñavalkya and in another to Nārada [11],

puṣpe śākodake kāṣṭe tathā mūla-phale tṛṇe
adattādānam eteṣām asteyaṃ tu Yamo 'bravīt.

It is not theft to take, without permission, certain natural products, obviously under certain conditions. And this is standard *śāstra* [12]. Yet the nature of *adattādānam* is not explored: it is assumed that the meaning is merely the etymological one.

And then we have Manu VIII.340,

yo 'dattādāyino hastāl lipseta brāhmaṇo dhanam
yājanādhyāpanenāpi yathā stenas tathaiva saḥ.

« He who, being a Brahmin, takes wealth from the hand of one who took what was not given to him, even by way of sacrificing for him or teaching him the Veda, he is exactly like a thief ». This is the text which figures in the discussion which the *mīmāṃsā* solves in a common-sense fashion. The taker might be « like a thief », but he is not a thief, nor necessarily liable to the state's punishment. And in any case his heirs are not affected by his immorality (cf. Iustinian, *Dig.* X.2.4.2).

Neither *smṛtikāra*, nor commentators upon his work explain what the term *adattādānam* really means, or what are the *ingredients* of it. The Mitākṣarā is typical: when explaining Yājñavalkya III.136, *adattā-dāna-nirataḥ*, it says *adatta-para-dhanāpahāra-prasaktaḥ*, « One who is addicted to taking the wealth of other people which has not been given to him », and it is assumed that this tells all.

Perhaps one reason for the want of a proper definition of theft and of *adattādānam* is the fact that there were two contexts, and two only, in which such discussions could arise. In a royal court the purpose of « suppression of thieves » was so obvious, and the need for scientific jurisprudence so slight, that attempts to refine definitions, e.g. concerning intention on the taker's part, were superfluous and confusing. This would be exactly the type of academic training which the man on the spot, the judge in the field, would ridicule as pointless. In a penance committee, on the other hand, where the spiritual condition of the taker was the principal issue, no less flexibility was required than in a royal court, but there was an important difference. In the court the culprit

10. Manu XII.7. Cf. Yājñavalkya III.136.
11. L. S. Joshi, *Dharmakośa, Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa*, 1744b.
12. See n. 9 above.

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presumably denied his crime, and was proved guilty to the satisfaction of the judge. In the penance committee the facts were admitted, or soon became so, no technicalities of proof were entertained, and in most cases the culprit himself initiated the proceedings. Here again the need for careful thought as to any liability he might have, unknown to himself, must have been slight. I do not say that the experts in penance went to work in a haphazard manner. But the proposition that it was sinful, with untoward effect on subsequent births, to take that to which one had no right, would be one which even a simpleton could apply in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred.

The reason why modern law insists on the ingredients of the crime with such minuteness is simple. Modern courts operate under the rule of law, and the accused is presumed innocent until, by whatever stages the legal system provides, he is gradually proved guilty. The notion that the citizen has rights against the state, and that therefore he cannot be punished unless the legal requirements are scrupulously complied with, is one foreign to the ancient, and certainly to the eastern world. It cannot be said to be universal in the modern world as we very well know. But there was an environment in which, in very ancient times, quite a different attitude to wrongdoing produced very scrupulous learning, and it is to this that this article is directed.

Let us assume a voluntary society, supported, on reasons of state, by the ruler, but normally self-governing. Let us suppose that it is dedicated to holy living, the pursuit of righteousness, and, therefore, it can safely live on the offerings of pious lay-people who hope to imitate as far as they can the virtues of the monks. The aspect which the lay disciplies most admire is the monks' forswearing property (except the minimum), sex, and status. On this basis the monks are entitled to be fed and clothed (at a mere subsistence level) by the laity. They have a position of prestige and act as the laity's spiritual directors if called upon to do so. *If they recruit from unworthy persons their society will collapse.* Therefore not only the monks themselves but also their novices, people on probation, must know how, in practice, they may break their vows. They may (i) misbehave themselves, so as to put the monks on enquiry whether they are fit for professing as monks, and (ii) they may disqualify themselves and revert *ipso facto*, as it were *latae sententiae*, to lay status. This is important because a lapsed novice can thus cease to be a member of the order without an elaborate trial such as a monk in similar circumstances would be entitled to: the failed novice simply ceases to be a novice. He could, of course, offer himself later for readmission in that capacity. But it would be up to the monks to discover whether he had reformed, or whether he was in need of an easy living. It is not surprising that the definition of *adatta* (Pali *adinna*) at *Sutta-vibhaṅga* II.3 (= text, *Vinaya-piṭaka* III.46) includes « what has not been thrown away » (!) and whatever is kept under guard! Yet that is far from adequate.

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Whether Jaina or Buddhist, the two great ascetic communities of ancient India, applied their minds to *steyam* and to *adattādānam* with an abundance of casuistry. They thus filled the formidable gap left by the insouciant *dharmaśāstra*. In the case of *steyam* and *adattādānam* the *śāstra* gives some examples of the tricks and frauds practised by Indians of their times: they do not surprise us [13]. But that does not provide us with the answers to our questions. This feature also figures in the Jaina and Buddhist sources, but the Buddhist include a work which attempts to list and explain the ingredients of *adattādānam* and to distinguish carefully between those acts which disqualify, i.e. which forfeit the culprit's status, and those which are misbehaviour, but not necessarily visited with so dramatic an outcome. This work is, apparently, Jayarakṣita's commentary on the (lost) *śloka* verse work by Śrīghana entitled *Śrīghanācāra-saṃgraha*. Since the subject is the discipline of novices (*śrāmaṇeras*), it could be called a *Śrāmaṇerācāra-saṃgraha*. It has been published recently, and this is an exploratory inquiry into it.

Jayarakṣita's work can be dated only within very wide margins. It is obviously Indian and prior to the assaults by Muslims on Buddhist institutions. It is later than the 4th century A.D. [14]. Between those centuries it is impossible to place it, though a minimum of local colour is discernable and remains to be evaluated historically. A. S. Altekar, himself a lawyer as well as a historian, commented upon it in 1954. No Hindu jurist seems to have worked on it, though its unique importance is obvious. Due to difficulties with the text, in spite of heroic efforts by the editor, and due to the present writer's unfamiliarity with the Buddhist context presupposed, and with items in the vocabulary which (if not errors) are not listed in the dictionaries, it is not possible yet to give a literal translation. This is not so sad as it sounds. The original work was a commentary on the *ślokas* of a short compendium. The *ślokas* have disappeared, and could only be reconstructed fragmentarily from the very numerous *pratīkas*. Since not all the words in the *ślokas* were explained, the text reads disjointedly and roughly, and a literal translation would read badly. It must, however, be attempted some day. Meanwhile I shall arrange the material on *adattādānam*, one of the ten vows of abstinence, so as to conform, roughly speaking, to the requirements of modern definitions of « theft ». The uniqueness of the text will become apparent at once to anyone who knows the *dharmaśāstra* presentation.

The long-lived Indian Penal Code will give us a suitable model for our purposes. Sec. 378, though long, by no means exhausts the infor-

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13. Bhāruci and Medhātithi on Manu VIII.193.

14. Sanghasena, ed. *Sphuṭārthā Śrīganācārasaṅgrahaṭīkā*, Patna, 1968, preface, p. 2. The work is called *Śrāmaṇera-ṭīkā* by A. S. ALTEKAR, *Cultural importance of Sanskrit literature preserved in Tibet*, in ABORI, 35, 1954, 54-66 at 63 ff. The text being unedited then Altekar cannot be blamed for misunderstanding some passages.

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mation we need, and we have to refer to Sec. 24 to supplement it.

> Sec. 378: Whoever, intending to take dishonestly any moveable property out of the possession of any person without that person's consent, moves that property in order to such taking, is said to commit theft.
>
> *Explanation* 1. A thing so long as it is attached to the earth, not being moveable property, is not the subject of theft; but it becomes capable of being the subject of theft as soon as it is severed from the earth.
>
> *Explanation* 3. A moving effected by the same act which effects the severance may be a theft.
>
> *Explanation* 3. A person is said to cause a thing to move by removing an obstacle which prevented it from moving or by separating it from any other thing, as well as by actually moving it.
>
> *Explanation* 4. A person, who by any means causes an animal to move, is said to move that animal, and to move everything which, in consequence of the motion so caused, is moved by that animal.
>
> *Explanation* 5. The consent mentioned in the definition may be express or implied, and may be given either by the person in possession or by any person having for that purpose authority either express or implied.

We need also Sec. 24, which runs,

> Sec. 24. Whoever does anything with the intention of causing wrongful gain to one person or wrongful loss to another persion, is said to do that thing « dishonestly ».

The tipical Indian students' book expends not less than twelve closely printed pages explaining this law. Sec. 378 provides numerous « Illustrations ».

In our enquiry below I shall see what Jayarakṣita, commenting on Śrīghana, does to answer the following questions:

(1) Who is capable of the crime of theft?

(2) Are there offences which are moral offences but which do not in themselves call for the punishment of disqualification?

(3) What objects are capable of being stolen?

(4) What act constitutes the moment of theft?

(5) What is the function of the intention to steal?

(6) What is the effect of attempts and anticipatory acts preparatory to theft?

(7) What is the effect of collaboration between culprits?

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(8) What is the effect of intermediation or association of strangers?

(9) What is the effect of acting as agent for another, or offering onself as a tool for another?

(10) What guidance can be given to avoid imputations of stealing?

The editor of the edition [15] wisely decided not to number the paragraphs. In our section it seems that all his paragraphing is sound. I find 46 paragraphs and have numbered them for our convenience [16]. The most striking result of a study of this chapter is that the author and his commentator, whilst not eschewing illustration of the propositions sought to be elucidated, concentrate on the jurisprudential aspects of *adattādānam*, and do not, as the *smṛtikāras* did, degenerate into descriptions of dishonest behaviour. They did not waste time over appropriate (or inappropriate) punishments, since the issues of punishment were clarified at the outset. Śrīghana dealt with disqualification from being a novice, by reason of breach of the vow, in the *ślokas* starting with *kālikam* up to *dakṣiṇādeśanā*, and moved on to deal with misbehaviour (*duṣkṛtāni*) in the *ślokas* commencing with *upakāryapakāribhyaḥ* and ending at *tūṣṇīṃ datvā* [17].

The author had made a thorough study of the subject of *adinnādīna*, as handled in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, *Suttavibhaṅga* II (the Second *Pārājika*) — the stealing of property worth not less than 5 *māsakas* — but there is new material.

(1) *Capacity to thieve.* § 42: There are five ingredients of disqualifying theft (i.e. theft which renders the novice *ayati*, *aśrāmaṇera*): (i) assets, such as earth and upwards up to the minimum value; (ii) acquired by another; (iii) known to be so by the taker; (iv) the latter's intention to steal; (v) actual asportation (removal, actual or constructive). In five cases an *adattādānam* does not disqualify: (i) knowledge that it *has* been given (i.e. the taker is legally entitled); (ii) knowledge that it has become his own; (iii) knowledge that it was not acquired by another; (iv) it comes from his share; (v) by way of periodic allowance. See (9) below. § 45: The lunatic, or deranged, are not disqualified by taking, even if they take the property of others, because they have no intention to steal. § 3: The punishment for those liable is to be taken and expelled. § 44: There are supersensory benefits from avoiding « ungiven » assets, and evils from indulging in them.

(2) *The distinction between moral and « disqualifying » offences.* § 1: disqualification arises from taking (*apahāraṇa*) a thing (*vastumātra*) belonging to anybody (*yasya kasyacit*). § 16: it is not a moral

15. Sanghasena, see last note.
16. Thus *adattādānavirati* is § 1, *uktā* is § 2, *pūjācīvaretyādi* is § 10, *uṣitvetyādi* is § 20, *lābhārthaṃ* is § 30, *cāturdiśāyetyādi* is § 40.
17. So, § 46.

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offence to retake from a third party to whom a thief gave the retaker's property; § 20: or to retake property one has forgotten, even though secreted by others in the meanwhile. § 23: misbehaviour (*duṣkṛtam*, Pali *dukkaṭa*, a wrongdoing, less grave than a *thullaccaya*, itself less than a *pārājika*, which involves « defeat ») results from accounts having to be falsified, even though no actual gain accrues to the culprit. § 29: It is a *duṣkṛtam* to retake lost property of which you have lost hope of recovery. § 30: Also to break any agreement relating to acquisition (of alms) likewise an agreement to give a recitation or instruction, likewise to perform any act of *dhamma*. § 31: Likewise to take a flag from the *stūpa* of a *paṇḍara-bhikṣu* [17a], though this is not a disqualifying theft, since such a flag has no owner. § 39: It is a *duṣkṛtam* to sell or use an object given to the *saṃgha* which the latter is incompetent to use. I do not find in our text a generalisation such as is at *Suttavibhaṅga* II.4,2 (end), that any form of destruction of an object of adequate value is a *dukkaṭa*, a useful generalisation (cf. Indian Penal Code).

(3) *What objects are capable of being stolen?* 1: In this treatise minor items are considered, excluding objects which are *by nature* subject to the *saṃgha's* ownership alone (i.e. including objects capable of being acquired by a novice), as for example items of diet subject to vow or regulation: periodical requirements such as food and drink, rags, conveyances, pearls, etc. 2: The « eight requirements » of a monk figure. A total of sixteen objects are listed: earth, water, human beings, quadrupeds, snakes, plants including trees, anything attached to these. The definition is exhaustive. The minimum amount capable of theft (§§ 3,42) is 1/4 *kārṣāpaṇa* = 5 *māsakas* less 1 *kākinī* (at the rate of 19 [!] *paṇas* of cowries to the *kārṣāpaṇa*). If it is a *duṣkṛtam* to steal less (as no doubt it is) this is not mentioned.

(4) *What act constitutes the theft?* § 3: « Taking » involves the movement of the object from its place and appropriating it (*sthānāt cyāvayan svīkurvan*). § 4: There is a *locus* (*sthānam*) of theft. In the case of an elephant, where it is kept in a gated enclosure, the moment is when all four feet have emerged, the enclosure being the *locus*, if the door was shut. If the door was open the *feet* of the animal are the *locus*. § 5: If the elephant is tied to a stake, when this is pulled up. If it is in a cage, when the feet emerge, if the entrance is large; but when the flank has emerged if the entrance is small. There are four *loci*: the stake, the feet, the cage, or a combination. § 6: If an item of a consignment is concealed about the body of the messenger the body is a *locus*. § 9: If elephants move freely, and the taker causes one to go in his direction, believes himself to have acquired it while there is (known to him?) a keeper, the *locus* is all four feet: in fact four *loci*

17a. Skt. *pāṇḍara*, a sect (?), white (Hindu?) ascetic. But cf. *odātāni dusāni* at Aśoka's Sarnath, Kausambi, and Sanchi Pillar Edicts!

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can be found; unauthorised direction, behaviour, hindering (in this case the keeper), and intention or aim (*cittam*).

§ 10: A rag-garland is allowed to fall from an idol by loosening the ends — the moment is the fall of the garland. If a cloth is taken from the *bodhi*-tree the ascetic is disqualified. Three *sthānas* arise in reference to such a garland: the two ends, the mental acquisition, the cloth. The first is where the garland is held by a pin. The second is where two ascetics independently work the ends loose. The third where the cloth is torn up. § 11: Disqualification may arise from behaviour. A necklace of pearls is scattered. With a companion to hold the bag the ascetic gathers them in the monastery and so takes them away; or he uses a shaggy dog to pick up the necklace or entices a calf and so takes it. It is not by the foot-fall of the person or animal that the punishment is incurred but by the deviant behaviour. He is liable when he deviates through others.

§ 12: If he yokes a cart by night (cf. Manu VIII.342) and warns his accomplice that the animals will take the cart away the *locus* is his consciousness of acquisition (*mamatva(?m) lābhaśca*). § 13: When he abstracts a necklace: if the pin is good and the clasp hard the *locus* is the discontinuity caused by breaking the clasp; he is a thief when he breaks it. Not so if the pin is bent and the clasp slack: the deviation is not located at the pin in such a case. The *locus* will be at the point at which all the pearls become free of the clasp. § 15: Intention alone is the *locus* where one takes a disproportionate share of land at the family partition. On this last point see below.

§ 24: Even where two novices receive alms from one household one of them steals if he takes the other's share. One is a thief in respect of the second novice's share. § 28: Failure to give a due share of alms to a monk entitled to it, pretending that the measure is inadequate (?). § 32: One must not help strangers to evade tolls (cf. Gaut. XII.41; Bhāruci on Manu IX.257), e.g. Śaṭhakas (? Śeṭṭis) smuggling gems; monks who transport or deal in gems must themselves pay tolls.

§ 33: In the rain-retreat even a novice whose way of life is deficient can expect his maintenance. But he must present himself before Śrāvaṇa, unless the *saṃgha* resolves otherwise. § 34: A lapsed novice who is received back can share the rain-retreat mantenance. § 35: But the following are not entitled: those that do not enter the retreat; those that wander away; heretics; and *nāstikas* (denying obligation and supersensory rewards); and those that stop the life-force (*mṛtakas*), also those that leave for a different country. The inference is that non-entitled takers are thieves.

(5) *What is the function of the intention to steal? Steya-citta,* « having a mind to steal » (§ 3); *steya-cetanā* (§ 42); *stainya-citta* (§§ 6, 21, 22, 42). This requires attention to be paid (§ 22) (*yoniso-manasikāra*). This is manifested by: (§ 7) failure to give a due share; (§ 8) appro-

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priation of property of a monk who dies leaving an heir[18]; (§ 36) deceased monks' property must go to their legatees, if any; if a monk is absent for three months his property must be deposited in a suitable building. Theft occurs (§ 15) even when taking a disportionate share at a partition of land. It occurs (§ 16) if one who has lost hope of recovery of an article taken by a thief later retakes it from him; *otherwise* (a) if he did not lose hope, or (b) if the thief gave it away to a third party. § 20: Secreting property of an asctic who leaves, whether one or all secrete it, manifests this intention. If the owner remembers it and recovers it he is not liable. § 21: To steal one must know that another is owner.

§ 29: It is theft to acquire any and every lost property, without carefully considering whether the owner has lost hope of recovering it. Where the owner has lost hope the taker is not a thief and retaking from him is not a retaking from a thief. § 24: To take another's share of alms is a theft unless one previously guarantees to make it good. It is theft to break any agreement to the sharing of future jointly acquired alms. § 26: It is no theft if the *saṃgha* alienates property to benefactors, e.g. royal patrons. §27: The *saṃgha* is not entitled to feed menials who do not serve the monastery; the novice is not entitled to be fed whether he serves or not. § 36: The *saṃgha* ought not to allow its food to be given to improper persons during the rain-retreat, but it is all right if it thinks they deserve it. § 31: One may not take a flag or banner (cf. Bhāruci on Manu IX.285) from a *stūpa* if it has a *devalaka* in attendance. A worn-out flag can be appropriated for the *saṃgha's* rag-collection.

§ 37: When during the rains a liberal donor promises clothing or its purchase-price only present persons are entitled; if he promises to do the same for rain-retreat monks only those who have come for the rain-retreat are entitled. If the donor gives rain-retreat goods to those who have not come for the rain-retreat that is his privilege. § 38: At festivals of the Buddha's birth and Enlightenment gifts belong to the *saṃgha*, i.e. all the various denominations of gifts belong to the community as present at the time. Certain items are unsuitable for the *saṃgha* (e.g. beds and chairs) and they may not be sold or enjoyed individually. If a novice gives a prohibited object that has vested in the *saṃgha*, or sells it, or uses it personally, it is a *duṣkṛtam*, not a theft.

§ 40: Any donor's dedication to the « *saṃgha* of the Four Quarters » or to the Buddha must be handed over to the *saṃgha* of monks present by any ascetic that receives it. § 41: Where the donor gives in silence suitable items belong to the *saṃgha* of present monks.

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18. There is a genuine piece of Buddhist law comparable with the Hindu law stated at KANE, *op. cit.*, 764-65. On testamentary disposition in ancient India see now T. MUKHERJEE and J. C. WRIGHT, *An early testamentary document in Sanskrit*, in BSOAS, 42, 1979, 297-320.

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(6) *What of attempts and anticipatory acts preparatory to theft?* § 14: If he makes a hole in a pot and takes a fluid within he is disqualified provided the pot requires to be filled and its flow is interrupted. Otherwise *vinaya*-experts say he is not disqualified provided he desists in order to be professed a monk. §§ 22, 26: It is theft to give to a *stūpa* what is dedicated for a *saṃgha*, or vice versa. The objection that all dedications belong to the Buddha and that therefore there is no deliberate theft by the manipulator is wrong, because such waste promotes the intention to steal (*stainya-cittasyotthāpakam*), like the abstraction of water through poverty. § 23: In practice the device requires a written order to the trustees (*Vārikas*) of the *stūpa* or *saṃgha*, their accounts will reveal discrepancies, and the trustees are forced into misbehaviour. § 26: It is worse to dissipate *stūpa* or *saṃgha* property on strangers (cf. § 5).

(7) *What of collaboration between culprits?* § 11: Liability is incurred through the use of human, pet, or (other) animal intermediaries. § 18: If two agree to share what each (unnecessarily) discards from his teacher's goods, the two of them are thieves, each have an intent regarding his own objects, each is liable in respect of both shares to the extent of a half.

§ 19: If many in consort take 5 *māsakas* less one *kākinī*, because they have a common purpose all are liable, « each acting like a look-out man for the others ». So if several ascetics, with a common purpose, employ a *mahallaka* (literally, « old man », or, conceivably, « rogue » [?] Roth, *Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya*, 23 n. 6) on equal shares, all are thieves, including the old man. I observe that in *Sutta.* II.4,5 even to search for a companion with an eye to theft is a *dukkaṭa.*

(8) *What of intermediaries or association with strangers?* § 19: On the « old man » see above. § 21: One is liable if he causes asportation of an object by another ascetic, who is not himself liable if he is ignorant of the true ownership and is not acquiring for himself. On the illegitimate use of human associates, e.g. the bagman see § 11 (4 above).

(9) *Acting as agent for another.* We have seen that if a second party is ignorant of the ownership and takes the property of a third party to the culprit at the latter's request the second party is free from blame (§ 21). One is disqualified for knowingly helping merchants to evade toll (§ 32). This decidedly improves on the obscure Sutt. II.4,21. If an ascetic is employed (§ 45) by another person and takes the property of third persons, *whether consciously or unconsciously*, he is disqualified. This is an interesting provision of *vinaya* of the strict-liability type, which deserves further research.

(10) *Guidance.* The law of inheritance must be observed (§ 8). When thieves do not part with articles stolen one may frighten them and if

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they are caught complain to the king (reading *gatvā vākyatvam*, omitting the *na*) (§ 17) (cf. Kātyāyana 813-819). One ought never to give up hope (§ 29) of recovering one's lost property. One must explain to would-be smugglers (§ 32) why one cannot cooperate. (§ 36): property of missing persons must be securely deposited.

A striking aspect of this treatise is that no authority whatever is cited except the Buddha himself (§§ 8, 27, 30, 32, 36), though, as we have seen, reference to knowers of *vinaya* does occur. Neither Śrīghana nor his commentator use any previous jurist. That there were earlier commentators on Śrīghana is clear since in two places variant readings of the *ślokas* are mentioned. There is no evidence of contact with Hindu or Jaina learning: the latter could have been useful and corroborative [19].

It is worthwhile in conclusion to refer to a Hindu discussion which arises in two important places in *dharmaśāstra* [20]. It is the question whether a joint-owner can steal in respect of the undivided assets in which he has a share at all material times. Common-sense says that he cannot, whereas if he defrauds others of their share the appropriate prosecution for dishonesty can obviously be launched against him for punishment, compensation, or both. The Mitākṣarā answer, however, is that a joint-owner secreting joint property (which was very common) is not merely « like a thief » but is actually a thief. The arguments are typical *dharmaśāstra* arguments: (1) Manu IX.213 asks for the punishment of an elder brother who defrauds his younger brothers, and this must apply *a fortiori* if a younger brother cheats; (2) a Vedic passage [21] says that he who extrudes a sharer from his share destroys him or if he does not destroy him he destroys his son or his son's son, which text is capable of two interpretations, neither of which meets the point; (3) — the only relevant reason — the argument that the taker is innocent since all common property is owned by him will not avail him since, by the same token, others (the co-sharers) are likewise owners of the same assets until partition; and finally (4) a purely technical argument from the *mīmāṃsā* to the effect that even though it might be supposed that when X's property is mixed with Y's property any prohibition of handling X's property or Y's property must be inapplicable, in fact the restriction on handling Y's property will bind X, as much when X's property is blended with it as when X's property is distinct from it. The maxim relates to Vedic texts on the suitability of certain sorts of beans in sacrifices, and is wildly irrelevant. A different view is taken by Jīmūtavāhana, who finds the Vedic text not helpful by analogy. To his mind the alleged thief could not possibly intend to acquire the

19. R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga*, London, 1963, 78-84. In Jaina ethics even lost property should not be acquired.

20. *Mitākṣarā*, Colebrooke's divisions, I.ix. Jīmūtavāhana, *Dāyabhāga*, Colebrooke's divisions, XIII.8-16.

21. Ait. Br. VI.7. Derrett, *Essays*, vol. II, 321, 338-39.

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property of another, since until partition the property of X and Y cannot be distinguished. The conscious taking of the property of another is the essence of theft, as seems to have been the opinion of Jitendriya[22].

The level of argument is high only at one point, and it is noticeable that the two leading authorities on partition are diametrically opposed. It is a pity that the juridical ability indirectly available to the *śāstrīs* from the works of their Buddhist and conceivably also their Jaina colleagues was not utilised here, or even reflected. It is possible that the *mimāṃsā* taboo on the consultation of *bauddha* scriptures had something to do with it. It is hoped that this exploratory study will lead to a further investigation of what Buddhist scholars were thinking and how far they solved problems which Hindu writers are in general content to pass over in their surviving treatises.

22. KANE, *op. cit.*, I, 1st edn., Poona, 1930, 281-83. Jitendriya was probably a Bengal writer who flourished about A.D. 1000-50. It is of interest that Kane detects considerable originality in him.

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MARIASUSAI DHAVAMONY

MUKUNDAMĀLĀ

Introduction

Mukundamālā (the garland of Vishṇu) belongs to the religious lyric literature of India since it has been composed in such a way as to be sung and presents itself in the form of a poem which expresses the writer's own thoughts and sentiments of love of God Vishṇu (*bhakti*) at no great length as a general rule, in stanzas or strophes. Kāvya style is clearly seen in the poem, which is complex and hermetic in concepts, elaborate and ornate in form, and interspersed with alliterations and play of words [1]. It contains long compounds, figures of both sound and sense, and sentences heaped with adjectives [2].

This well-known poem, most popular among Vaishṇavas, is considered to be one of the earliest religious lyrics in Sanskrit. The poem expresses profoundly the passionate cry of the heart for God and the intense longing for fellowship with him.

The work is commonly attributed to Kulaśekhara [3]. Scholars do not agree on the personality of the author or on the date of its composition. R. G. Bhandarkar identifies Kulaśekhara with Kulaśekharaṅka (A.D. 1150) and observes that a verse (XI.2.36) of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is found in the *Mukundamāla* [4]. This position is rejected because the two personalities are different and I have not found the alleged text of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in any of the existing versions of the *Mukundamālā*. K. Rama Pisharoti is of the opinion that the author of the *Mukundamālā* should not be identified with Kulaśekhara Āḻvār, for he thinks that there is no convincing proof for doing so. He places the work in the seventh century A.D. [5]. S. N. Dagupta tends to place this work in the first half

1. See Oscar Botto, *Letteratura classica dell'India antica*, Roma, 1964, p. 119.
2. Sadhu Ram, *Essays on Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi, 1965, p. 157 ff.
3. There is no discrepancy on the name of the author.
4. See R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems*, Strassburg, 1913, pp. 49-50.
5. See his *Śrimukundamāla* (with Tātparyadīpika of Rāghavānanda), Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, No. 1, Annamalainagar, 1933, appendix, pp. III f.

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of the ninth century and identifies the author with Kulaśekhara Āḻvār who also wrote the *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* in Tamil [6]. The colophon of the *Mukundamālā* attributes a royal dignity to the author Kulaśekhara and says that he was a Vishṇava bhakta [7].

The commonly held veiw in South India is that the same Kulaśekhara wrote both the *Mukundamālā* and the *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*. This view can be taken as plausible, though there is no convincing proof either for rejecting the identification or for admitting it. It is rather strange that this Vaishṇava bhakti lyric should have found an advaitin, Rāghavānanda, as commentator, in so late a period as the seventeenth century.

The text given here does not agree with the same in any edition that has appeared so far except with that of K. Rama Pisharoti [8]. The difference is not in the variants but in the number of the verses:

1. *Kāvyasaṁgraha*, edited by J. Haeberlin, *Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta, has 22 verses;
2. *Kāvyamāla*, edited by Pandit Durgāprasād and Kāśīnāth Pāndurang Parab, second edition, published by Tukārām Jāvajī, Bombay, 1893, has 34 verses;
3. *Śrimukundamāla* (with Tātparyadīpikā of Rāghavānanda), edited by K. Rama Pisharoti, Annamalainagar, 1933, has 46 verses. This edition has been followed by T. Sundarāchāri in his *Śrimukundamālai*, Sanskrit-Tamil work, Madras, 1962;
4. *Śrimukundamālā*, Sanskrit-Tamil, by K. Srinivasachari, Lipco, Madras, 1975, has 40 verses;
5. *Mukundamālai*, Grantha-Tamil, by A. Anantāchāri, 1929, Madras, has 40 verses;
6. *Mukunda Mālā*, by V. V. K. Rangachari, Cocanada, 1928, Sanskrit-English, contains 40 verses.

I have accepted the text that had been commented upon by the seventeenth century commentator, Rāghavānanda, for he must have accepted it as authentic to comment upon after examining various versions. Besides, all the verses of other texts are included in the present text. I give my own translations of the text and my own explanation in the light of early Vaishṇava theism without any bias, either advaitic or viśiṣṭādvaitic.

The poem was popular also outside of India. For verse 7 of the present text is cited in an inscription of Pagan (13th century A.D.)

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6. See his *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. III, Cambridge, 1952, p. 67.
7. See verse 46 in our version.
8. That is, number 3 of the various versions referred to in the introduction to our text.

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E. Hultzsch in his *A Vaishnava Inscription at Pagan*[9] says that the inscription contains one verse in the Sanskrit language and Grantha alphabet, and a prose passage in the Tamil language and alphabet. The Sanskrit verse is taken from the *Mukunda Mālā* (verse 7 of our text) and the Tamil passage records gifts by a native of Magōdayarpaṭṭaṇam in Malaimaṇḍalam, i.e., Cranganore in Malabar. His name, Kulaśekhara Nambi, indicates he was a devotee of the saint Kulaśekhara; the opening verse of inscription derives from his *Mukundamālā*. The Vishṇu Temple of Nāṉātēciviṉṉakar[10] at Pukkam (Pagan) in Burma was the recipient of the gift.

THE SANSKRIT TEXT

Verse 1

vande mukundamaravinda dalāyatākṣaṁ kundendu saṅkhadaśanaṁ
[*śiśugopaveṣam*
indrādi devagaṇa vandita pādapīṭhaṁ brindāvanālayamahaṁ
[*vasudevasūnum.*

Translation

I worship Mukunda who possesses long eyes like the [unfolded] petals of lotus, with teeth like *kunda* flower, the moon and conch, who appears as the child of cowherds, the pedestal of whose feet is adored by the host of gods, Indra and others, who has Vrindāvana as his temple, who is the son of Vāsudeva.

Commentary

Mukunda is the name of Vishṇu, sometimes transferred to Śiva. Etymologically, the word *mukun-da* is explained as « giver of liberation », *muku* being equivalent of *mukti*. Here the term refers to Krishṇa as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu. Krishṇa is the eighth *avatāra* of Vishṇu or rather a direct manifestation of Vishṇu himself. *Kunda* is a kind of jasmine flower. Krishṇa belonged to the Yādava race; the Yādavas of ancient times were a pastoral race who dwelt on the river Yamunā. Vrindāvana is a wood in the district of Mathūra where Krishṇa as Gopāla spent his youth among the cowherds. His reputed parents were Vāsudeva and Devakī. That he is adored by the host of gods Indra and others brings out his supremacy over other gods.

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9. See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII (1902-3), Calcutta, pp. 197-98.
10. I.e., of those coming from various countries.

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Verse 2

śrivallabheti varadeti dayāpareti bhaktapriyeti
[*bhavaluṇṭhanakovideti*
nātheti nāgaśayaneti jagannivāsetyālāpanaṁ pratipadaṁ kuru me
[*mukunda.*

Translation

O Mukunda, at every step (or « at every word ») let me praise you as the beloved of Śrī, as the giver of boons, as [the God] endowed with the quality of compassion, as the beloved of those who show love to you, as [the God] who is skilled in destroying [the evil] of rebirth, as the Lord [of all], resting on the snake, as [one] who dwells in the world.

Commentary

Śrī is the wife of Vishṇu, i.e., Lakshmī. In this verse Vishṇu is straightaway addressed and praised. *Dayāpara*: « endowed with the quality of compassion », is a significant attribuite of God as love. *Bhaktapriyaḥ* indicates that Vishṇu not only wants love to him from his devotees but also shows reciprocal love for the devotees. *Bhavaluṇṭhanakovideti*, « skilled in destroying birth » signifies that Vishṇu is the liberator from the cycle of rebirths. Vishṇu is portrayed reclining on the serpent Śeṣa as the emblem of eternity. Śeṣa is represented as forming the couch and canopy of Vishṇu while sleeping during the intervals of creation. But Vishṇu is also represented as intimately present in the world of his creation.

Verse 3

jayatu jayatu devo devakīnandano'yaṁ
jayatu jayatu kriṣṇo vriṣṇivaṁsapradīpaḥ
jayatu jayatu meghaśyāmalaḥ komalāṅgo
jayatu jayatu prithvībhāranāśo mukundaḥ.

Translation

Hail, hail, [to you], God, son of Devakī, here!
Hail, hail, [to you], Krishṇa, the [shining] light of the race of Vṛṣṇi!
Hail, hail, [to you], [God] dark-coloured like clouds, with tender [frame!
Hail, hail [to you], Mukunda, the destroyer of the burden of the [world!

Commentary

Here Krishṇa is directly addressed as the son of Devakī (*Devakīnandana*). *Vṛṣṇi* is the name of a race to which Krishṇa belonged. *Pradīpaḥ* signifies literally lamp; here used figuratively to signify ornament. *Komalāṅga* means « of tender frame ». The burden of the world is the *karma-saṁsāra.*

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Verse 4

mukunda mūrdhnā praṇipatya yāce
[bhavanta-mekānta-miyantamartham
avismṛitistvaccaraṇāravinde bhave bhave me'stu bhavatprasādāt.

Translation

O Mukunda! Prostrating with my head [bent], I implore your honour to grant only so much of the purpose [as befits] this end; [namely,] that I may never forget your lotus-feet in all births by the help of your grace.

Commentary

Mūrdhnā praṇipatya denotes « prostrating profoundly with the head bent ». *Iyantam ekāntam artham*: « only so much as the unique end »; the only purpose in life is stressed. The *bhakta* desires only one thing; namely, never to forget the sacred feet of the Lord in different births through the grace of God.

Verse 5

śrimukunda padāmbhojamadhunaḥ paramādbhutam
yatpāyino na muhyanti muhyanti yadapāyinaḥ.

Translation

What an immeasurable wonder! While those who drink the honey [contained] in the lotus-feet of Śri Mukunda are not bewildered, those who do not drink it are deluded!

Commentary

Paramādbhutam means « supreme wonder ». *Muhyanti*, « to be bewildered or perplexed » connotes « to be at a loss what to do, to go astray, to be deluded or confused ». Those who obtain the grace of God are illumined with the liberating knowledge, freeing them from ignorance and delusion; others do not receive this illumination.

Verse 6

nāhaṁ vande tava caraṇayor dvandvamadvandvahetoḥ
kumbhīpākaṁ gurumapi hare nāraham nāpanetum
ramyā rāmā mridutanulatā nandane nāpi rantum
bhāve bhāve hridayabhavane bhāvayeyam bhavantam.

Translation

Hari! I adore your two feet not on account of [obtaining] the destruction of pairs [of opposites]; not for avoiding *kumbhīpākam* which is a severe hell; not for enjoying in delightful charming young women with slender body like the creeper in the pleasure ground of Indra; but birth after birth for meditating on you, the Lord present here, holding you in the temple of my heart.

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Commentary

The pair of opposites are pain and pleasure, like and dislike, etc. *Kumbhīpākam* is a kind of hell, filled with pain and suffering. *Svarga* is the heaven of Indra, the abode of inferior gods and of beautiful mortals, supposed to be situated on Mount Meru. Not to forget the lotus-feet of Vishṇu (cfr verse 4) is realized in constantly meditating of Vishṇu in the mind and heart of the devotee. This is itself the unique purpose of life; no motive of heaven or hell or Indraloka is adduced for such a love to Vishṇu.

Verse 7

nāsthā dharme na vasunicaye naiva kāmopabhoge
yad yad bhavyaṁ bhavatu bhagavan pūrvakarmānurūpam
etat prārthyaṁ mama bahumataṁ janmajanmāntare'pi
tvatpādāmbhoruha yugagatā niścalā bhaktirastu.

Translation

Lord! I am not interested in righteousness; nor in the accumulation of wealth; nor in the enjoyment of lust. Let whatever happens be as it should be in accordance with the past action. What is requested by me as of highest esteem is that in [the course of] various births, in the two lotus-feet of yours I may possess unalterable love to you.

Commentary

E. Hultzsch translated this verse which occurs in the inscription of Pagan thus: « Hail! Prosperity! [I have] no regard for merit, none for a heap of wealth, none at all for the enjoyment of lust. Whatever is to happen, let it happen. O God! in accordance with previous action. This [alone] is to be prayed for [and] highly valued by me: In every other birth also let [me] possess unswerving devotion to the pair of thy lotus-feet! ». Disinterest in righteousness (*nāsthā dharme*) does not mean that Kulaśekhara discredits the observance of righteousness but that he is not interested in the acquisition of merit, for he says immediately that the consequences of right action what it be, let it happen. All his mind and heart are set in the unchangeable love for Vishṇu.

Verse 8

divi vā bhuvi vā mamāstu vāso narake vā narakāntaka prakāmam
avadhīrita śāradāravindau caraṇau te maraṇe'pi cintayāni.

Translation

Destroyer of hell! [What does it matter whether] I have my dwelling-place in heaven or on earth; or in hell, whatever the place be. I shall contemplate even in the hour of death your two feet which surpass [in beauty and freshness] the autumnal lotus flowers.

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Commentary

Narahāntaka here means destroyer of hell, i.e., destroyer of the cycle of rebirths. Again, the status of existence of the *bhakta* is indifferent to him, provided he ever contemplates Vishṇu and keep him ever in his mind.

Verse 9

kriṣṇa tvadīya padapaṅkaja pañjarāntaḥ adyaiva me viśatu mānasa [rājahaṁsaḥ
prāṇaprayāṇa samaye kaphavātapittaiḥ kaṇṭhavarodhanavidhau [smaraṇaṁ kutaste.

Translation

Krishna! As the swans [live] in the sacred lake Mānasa, this very day let my mind enter into your feet which are like the cage of lotus flowers. [For] at the moment when the vital air departs (i.e., at death) in such a way that phlegm, air, and bile choke the throat and chest, whence (or « how ») can I remember you?

Commentary

Mānasa is the name of a sacrel lake and place of pilgrimage on Mount Kailāśa, wither the wild swans repair in the breeding season at the beginning of the monsoons. The poet is aware of the difficulty in remembering the sacred feet of the Lord at the time of death; hence he is eager to contemplate him here and now, this very day, when he is physically fit for it. He wishes to enter into the feet of the Lord which are the cage of refuge for him; here obviously is meant the union with God in love.

Verse 10

cintayāmi harimeva santataṁ manda mandahasitānanāmbujam
nandagopatanayaṁ parātparaṁ nāradādi munibrindavanditam.

Translation

I continually think of Hari, who possesses the gently smiling lotus-face, who appears as the son of Nandagopa, the most sublime of the sublime, who is worshipped by the group of ascetics, Nārada and others.

Commentary

Nārada is the chief of the ascetics and ṛishis. Nandagopa is the cowherd by whom Krishṇa was brought up. Nārada was convinced that love of Krishṇa was the only true means of felicity.

Verse 11

karacaraṇasaroje kāntiman netramīne
śramamuṣi bhujavīcivyākule'gādhamārge
harisarasi vigāhyāpīya tejojalaughaṁ
bhavamaruparikhinnaḥ khedamadya tyajāmi

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Translation

Having entered the ocean of Hari, which has the lotus flowers of [sacred] hands and feet, with fish of sparkling eyes, which destroys the weariness [of the devotees], which spreads out with waves of shoulders, with unfathomable depth; and having drunk its bright waters; I who am exhausted by the arid tract of rebirths today get relieved of [all my] affliction.

Commentary

The poet wants to leave the desert of the life of rebirths and to enter the ocean of Vishṇu. In this ocean the lotus flowers are his hands and feet; the fish are his bright eyes; the waves are his shoulders; the waters are his shining body. He longs for the complete union with Vishṇu.

Verse 12

sarasijanayane saśaṅkhacakre murabhidi mā viramasva citta rantum
sukhataramaparaṁ na jātu jāne haricaraṇa smaraṇāmritena tulyam.

Translation

O Mind! Do not cease to delight in the destroyer of Mura, who has eyes like lotus flowers, who wears conch and wheel. I have never known in life any other pleasure similar to the ambrosia of meditating on the [sacred] feet of Hari.

Commentary

Mura is the name of a demon slain by Vishṇu or Krishṇa. Vishṇu has four hands: one holds the conch shell; another a wheel or disc; another a club and the fourth a lotus. The conch shell represents the dwelling place of a demon, killed by Krishṇa; the discus, a weapon given him as a reward for defeating Indra; the club was presented to him on the same occasion; the lotus in hand is a sign of Lakshmī's presence even when her human features do not appear.

Verse 13

mābhīr manda mano vicintya bahudhā yāmīściraṁ yātanāḥ
nāmī naḥ prabhavanti pāparipavas svāmī nanu śrīdharaḥ
ālasyaṁ vyapanīya bhaktisulabhaṁ dhyāyasva nārāyaṇaṁ
lokasya vyasanāpanodanakaro dāsasya kim na kṣamaḥ.

Translation

Do not be afraid, O stupid mind, which always and in various ways thinks of the torments of Yama. These who are cheats in the case of sinners are powerless with regard to us. [For] is not the bearer of prosperity our supreme Lord? [Therefore] having put aside sloth, meditate on Nārāyaṇa who is easy of access by means of love. How can he who expels the misfortunes of the world be incapable of removing those of his devotees?

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Commentary

Śrīdhara, « bearer of prosperity » is the epithet and form of Vishṇu-Krishṇa. The poet reveals his unshakable trust and confidence in the goodness of Vishṇu before whom the torments of Yama are powerless. *Bhakti* is the easy means of reaching Vishṇu and of winning his favour.

Verse 14

bhavajaladhigatānāṁ dvandvavātāhatānāṁ
sutaduhitrikalatratrāṇa bhārārditānāṁ
viṣama viṣayatoye majjatāmaplavānāṁ
bhavatu śaraṇameko viṣṇupoto narāṇām.

Translation

Let the ship of Vishṇu be the sole refuge to men who have gone into the ocean of rebirths, who are baffled by the winds of likes and dislikes, and are afflicted by the burden of protecting their son, daughter and wife; with these thigs, full of sorrow, they are immersed in it without findig a plank of safety.

Commentary

Vishṇu is the sole refuge in the midst of worldly cares, pleasure and pain, fortune and misfortune, for these bring only sorrow. The safe place is Visṇu's feet.

Verse 15

bhavajaladhimagādhaṁ dustaraṁ nistareyaṁ
kathamahamiti ceto mā sma gāḥ kātaratvam
sarasijadriśi deve tāvakī bhaktirekā
narakabhidi niṣaṇṇa tārayiṣyatyavaśyam.

Translation

O mind! Fear not as to how you can cross the ocean of births, unfathomable, and hard to cross. Your love alone, shown to the God with lotus eyes, the destroyer of Naraka, is required to put you across it certainly.

Commentary

Naraka is the name of a demon whom Krishṇa slew in his attempt to recover the stolen jewels. Here again *bhakti* alone is proposed as required to cross the ocean of rebirths.

Verse 16

triṣṇātoye madanapavanoddhūtamohormimāle
tārāvartte tanayasahajagrāha saṅghākule ca
saṁsārākhye mahati jaladhau majjatāṁ nas tridhāman
pādāmbhoje varada bhavato bhaktināvaṁ prayaccha.

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Translation

To us who are plunged into the great ocean, called the cycle of rebirths, with the waters of desire, agitated by the waves of lust produced by the wind of passion, perplexed by the whirlpool of wife and by the crowd of crocodiles of children and kith and kin, O Lord, established in three abodes, the giver of boons, bestow the boat of love to [reach] your lotus feet.

Commentary

Once again *bhakti* is proposed as the safe boat to reach Vishṇu when man is immersed in the ocean of empirical existence amidst desire, lust and passion, and wordly cares of wife and children and relatives.

Verse 17

mā drākṣaṁ kṣīṇapuṇyam kṣaṇamapi bhavato bhaktihīnān padābje
mā śrauṣaṁ śrāvyabandhaṁ tava caritamapāsyānyadākhyānajātam
mā smārṣaṁ mādhava tvāmapi bhuvanapate cetasā'pahnuvānān
mā bhūvaṁ tvatsaparyāvyatikararahito janmajanmāntare'pi.

Translation

I shall not look at those whose virtue is at an end and who do not show love even for a moment to your lotus feet. I shall not hear the traditions, though interesting to hear, which tell other birth tales instead of speaking of your life story. O Mādhava, Lord of the universe, I shall not think of those who disclaim you in their mind. In no birth shall I abandon the union with your worshippers.

Commentary

The two principal senses, sight and hearing, are directed to the Lord alone and should be protected against obstacles to this experience of Vishṇu. Association with Vishṇu-bhaktas is sought after as the best company suited to worship Vishṇu.

Verse 18

vātsalyādabhayapradāna samayādārtārti nirvāpaṇāt
audāryā daghasoṣaṇādaganitaśreyaḥ padaprāpaṇāt
sevyaḥ śrīpatireka eva satatam santyatra sad sākṣiṇaḥ
prahlādaśca vibhīṣaṇaśca karirād pāñcālyahalyā dhruvaḥ.

Commentary

On account of his affection, of his bestowal of security, of extinguishing the pain of the afflicted at the proper time, of his generosity, of destroying the sins, of the attainment of the incalculably blissful state, the Lord of Śrī alone is for ever to be honoured. Pralāda, Vibhīṣaṇa, Gajendra, Draupadī, Ahalyā, Dhruva: these six are the witnesses for this.

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Commentary

Garirād is Gajendra, the lordly elephant. Pāñcāla, the princess of the Pāñcālas, is Draupadī. When the Pāṇḍavas lost their kingdom to the Kauravas, Draupadī was taken a prisoner and when Duhśāsana abused her and took her clothes off, Krishṇa took compassion on her and restored her clothes as fast as they were torn. When Hiraṇyakaśipu ordered his son Prahlāda to be killed because of his son's devotion to Vishṇu, Prahlāda was protected from any harm by Vishṇu who appeared as man-lion and slew his father. Vibhīshaṇa, a younger brother of Rāvaṇa, was virtuous and opposed to the practices of the Rākshasas. He was thrown out by Rāvaṇa; then he became a friend of Rāmachandra. Rama, who is an avatāra of Vishṇu, after defeating Rāvaṇa appointed him to the throne of Laṅka. When Ahalyā was disgraced by her husband Gautama after he found out the seduction by Indra of her, Rāma, the *avatāra* of Vishṇu, restored her to her natural state and reconciled her with her husband. Dhruva became a ṛishi and practised austerities in spite of all distractions induced by Indra. He was favoured by Vishṇu who raised him to the skies as the pole-star. Vishṇu is quite often portrayed as slayer of demons, fighter for gods, the saviour and helper of the gods in their battle with the demons. Gajendras are chief divine elephants, mythical guardians of the quarters of the universe, used by Indra and Vishṇu. These personages testify to Vishṇu's affection, giver of safety, remover of suffering, generosity, destructer of sin and unlawfulness.

Verse 19

jihve kīrtaya keśavaṁ muraripuṁ ceto bhaja śrīdharaṁ
pāṇidvandva samarcayācyutakathāś śrotradvaya tvam śruṇu
kriṣṇaṁ lokaya locanadvaya harer gacchāṅghriyugmālayaṁ
jighra ghrāṇa mukundapādatulasīṁ mūrdhan namādhokṣajam.

Translation

Tongue, Sing Keśava! Mind, be devoted lovingly to the foe of Mura! Both hands joined, worship the Lord of Lakshmī! Both ears, hear the tales of the imperishable! Both eyes, see Krishṇa! Two feet, go to the temples of Hari! Nose, smell the *tulasi* flower at the feet of Mukunda! Head, honour the one under an axle.

Commentary

Kesava, « having much or fine hair » is a name of Vishṇu. Mura is the name of a Daitya slian by Vishṇu-Krishṇa. « Being below the axle » is a title of Vishṇu. The poet shows here how the devotee should concentrate his whole body and mind on Vishṇu, experiencing him internally and externally.

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Verse 20

he lokāśśruṇuta prasūtimaraṇavyādheś cikitsāmimāṁ
yogajñāssamudāharanti munayo yāṁ yājñavalkyādayaḥ
antarjyoti rameya mekamamṛitaṁ kriṣṇākhyamāpīyatāṁ
tatpītaṁ paramauṣadhaṁ vitanute nirvāṇamātyantikam.

Translation

Hey people, listen! I propose the cure for the disease of birth and death. Yājñavalkya and others who know well yoga mention this [cure]. Drink this unquenchable ambrosia of great revile, which is Krishṇa by name, who shines as inner light. This supreme medicine, drunk once, spreads out the unalterable final emancipation.

Commentary

The true cure for all ills or rebirth is the yoga of reviling in Krishṇa who shines as the inner light, which includes the uttering of the sweet name of Krishṇa and relishing the reality of Krishṇa who shines as inner light in the inmost essence of the soul. Such an experience leads to final emancipation.

Verse 21

he martyāḥ paramaṁ hitaṁ śruṇuta vo vakṣyāmi saṁkṣepataḥ
saṁsārārṇavamāpadūrmibahulaṁ samyak praviśya sthitāḥ
nānājñānamapāsya cetasi namo nārāyaṇāyetyamuṁ
mantraṁ sapraṇavaṁ praṇāmasahitaṁ prāvartayadhvaṁ muhuḥ

Translation

Hey mortals, listen again, I tell in brief the supreme good to you who are situated completely and gone far deeply in the sea of rebirths, abounding in the waves of misfortune. Putting aside various kinds of knowledge in your mind, saying the sacred prayer: *namo nārāyaṇa*, together wtih the sacred syllable *OM*, and bow, turn around repeatedly.

Commentary

Ūrmi signifies « wave » of troubles and afflictions, six of which assail human life: hunger, thirst, heat, cold, greed and error. *Praṇāma* means bow, obeisance, reverent salutation. *Sapraṇavam* denotes the sacred syllabe OM. The efficacy of the Nārāyaṇa mantra is stressed in this verse.

Verse 22

prithvī reṇuraṇuḥ payāṁsi kaṇikā phalgussphuliṅgo laghuḥ
tejo niśvasanaṁ maruttanutaraṁ randhraṁ susūkṣmaṁ nabhaḥ
kṣudrā rudrapitāmahaprabhṛitayaḥ kīṭāssamastāssurāḥ
dṛiṣṭe yatra sa tāvako vijayate bhūmā'vadhūtāvadhiḥ.

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Translation

Whatever is looked at, there appears the world as an atom of dust, water as a little drop, fire as a light reddish spark, wind as thin air, sky as very tiny hole, all the gods beginning with Rudra, Brahmā and so forth as little worms; your glory alone appears, surpassing the limits of all these existing things.

Commentary

The five great elements that appear so gigantic, so powerful and immense are tiny little things when we consider the glory of Vishṇu. The vast land is an atom of dust, great seas a drop of water, the great fiery bodies a small reddish spark, the powerful wind is thin air, and the sky a tiny hole; all the gods, Rudra, Brahmā and so forth are little worms. The glory of Viṣṇu surpasses the limits of these beings.

Verse 23

baddenāñjalinā natena śirasā gātraissaromodgamaiḥ
kaṇṭhena svaragadgadena nayanenodgīrṇabāṣpāmbunā
nityaṁ tvaccaraṇāravindayugaladhyānāmritāsvādinām
asmākaṁ sarasīruhākṣa satataṁ saṁpadyatāṁ jīvitam.

Translation

O lotus-eyed! With hands held together [in veneration], with head bowed, with body with hairs erect, with throat with faltering voice, with eyes bust out with tears, always tasting the ambrosia of meditating on your two lotus feet, being ourselves, let our lives for ever be fulfilled.

Commentary

Here loving meditation on Vishṇu is proposed as the fulfilment of one's life and such a contemplation overflows in the body of the *bhakta*. Deep sentiment of love of Vishṇu creates in the *bhakta* certain signs of deep feeling such as erection of the hair, faltering voice, tearful eyes.

Verse 24

he gopālaka he kripājalanidhe he sindhukanyāpate
he kaṁsāntaka he gajendrakaruṇāpārīṇa he mādhava
he rāmānuja he jagattrayaguro he puṇḍarīkākṣa māṁ
he gopījananātha pālaya paraṁ jānāmi na tvāṁ vinā.

Translation

Hey Gopala! Heh Ocean of mercy! Hey husband of the daughter of the ocean! Hey detsroyer of Kaṁsa! Hey bestower of grace to Gajendra! Hey Mādhava! Hey Rāmānuja! Hey master of the three worlds! Hey lotus-eyed! Hey Lord of the clan of cow-herds! Protect me; I do not know anyone else except you.

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Commentary

Gopālaka means « cow-herd »; here it refers to Krishṇa. *Mādhava* is son or descendent of Madhu, a man of Yādava race; here it refers to Krishṇa. Kaṁsa is the name of a king slain by Krishṇa. Krishṇa is younger brother of Balarāma; hence he is called Rāmānuja: *anuja*, « born after », « younger brother ». *Sindhu-kanyā*, « daughter of the ocean » is Lakshmī.

Verse 25

bhaktāpāyabhujaṅga gāruḍamaṇis trailokyarakṣāmaṇiḥ
gopīlocanacātakāmbudamaṇis saundarya mudrāmaṇiḥ
yaḥ kāntāmaṇirukmiṇīghanakuca dvandvaikabhūṣāmaṇiḥ
śreyo devasikhāmaṇir diśatu no gopālacūḍāmaṇiḥ.

Translation

This pearl of vulture to the devotees' serpents of danger, the pearl of salvation to the three worlds, the pearl of cloud to the cukoos of the eyes of cowherds, the pearl of the mark of beauty, the indispensable pearl of ornament to the firm breasts of Rukminī, who is the pearl of ladies, this precious pearl of the child of cowherds, the precious divine pearl, grant us blessings.

Commentary

The dangers that occur to the bhaktas are called serpents and the enemy of these serpents, Garuda, is referred to Krishṇa. Krishṇa is the jewel of the cloud to the birds of *sādhaka*, which are the eyes of the gopīs; namely, he is the refuge of the gopīs who love him through many ways and means. « The precious divine pearl » means « the pearl in the diadems of gods », i.e., the Supreme God.

Verse 26

śatrucchedaika mantraṁ sakalamupanisad vākyasampūjya mantraṁ
saṁsārottāra mantraṁ samupacitatamas saṅghaniryāṇa mantram
sarvaiśvaryaika mantraṁ vyāsanabhujagasaṁdaṣṭa santrāṇa
[*mantraṁ*
jihve śrīkriṣṇa mantraṁ japa japa satataṁ janmasāphalya mantram.

Translation

Tongue, always repeatedly say the prayer of Krishṇa. This prayer destroys the enemies; this prayer fulfils all wishes and has been celebrated by the words of the Upanishads. This prayer delivers you from the cycle of rebirths. This prayer dispels the throng of the accumulated darkness [of ignorance]. This prayer brings all benefits. This prayer is the rescue of those biten by the snake of misery. This prayer is the purpose of birth itself.

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Commentary

The mantra spoken of here is *Śri Krishṇa*; it is *nāma-mantra.* There is no better remedy against all evils and obstacles to salvation except in the efficacy of the *mantra* of Śri Krishṇa which is Krishṇa himself.

Verse 27

vyāmohaprasamauṣadhaṁ munimanovṛittipravṛittyauṣadhaṁ
daityendrārtikarauṣadhaṁ tribhuvanīsañjīvanaikauṣadham
bhaktātyantahitauṣadhaṁ bhavabhayapradhvaṁsanaikauṣadhaṁ
śreyaḥprāptikarauṣadhām piba manaś śrikriṣṇa divyauṣadham.

Translation

Mind, drink the divine medicine of Sri Krishṇa. This medicine overpowers mental confusion. The medicine sets in motion the disposition of ascetics' minds towards himself. This medicine makes the *asura* princes afflicted. This medicine alone animates the three worlds. This medicine gives endless benefit to the devotees. This medicine is indispensable to destroy the dread of births; this medicine makes attain all blessings.

Commentary

Here again, it is claimed that Krishṇa alone is the only remedy, the only medicine against all ills. The medicine not only cures one from ills of mental confusion but also creates the necessary dispositions of positive ascent to possess Krishṇa. This medicine also fights against the asuras who are enemies of God and bestows all benefits on Krishṇa's devotees. Daitya are descendents of Diti, Asura, especially Rāhu.

Verse 28

āmnāyābhyasanānyaraṇyaruditaṁ vedavratānyanvahaṁ
medaśchedaphalāni pūrtavidhayassarve hutaṁ bhasmani
tīrthānāmavagāhanāni ca gajasnānaṁ vinā yatpada-
dvandvāmbhoruhasaṁsmṛitīr vijayate devassa nārāyaṇaḥ.

Translation

Without the remembrance of his two lotus feet, the study of the sacred texts (Vedas) would become howling in the jungle; the observance of the religious ordinances of the Vedas would become fit only for reducing the fat [in the body]; charitable works like building tanks would become like sacrifice made in ashes; bathing in sacred place would become like elephants' bathing; let our God Nārāyaṇa be glorious.

Commentary

Āmnāya, « tradition » refers to sacred texts, sacred lore. *Vrata*, « ordinance » is religious duty, religious observances and works.

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Pūrta, « filled, bestowed » refers to reward or fulfilment, i.e., charitable works. *Tīrtha*, « right place or moment » refers to place of sacred bath or of religious instruction. Without genuine love for Vishṇu all other religious observances like recitation of sacred texts, observances of all kinds together with asceticism become meaningless. Elephants bath and immediately take the dust of the street and throw it over their own head.

Verse 29

śrīman nāma procya nārāyaṇākhyaṁ ke na prāpur vāñchitaṁ [*pāpino'pi*
hā naḥ pūrvaṁ vāk pravrittā na tasmin tena prāptaṁ [*garbhavāsādiduḥkham*

Translation

Who are the ones who, even though sinners, do not obtain their desires, when they have sung well the illustrious name of Nārāyaṇa? Alas, our tongue did not turn to him long before! Is it not because of this that the sorrows like dwelling in the womb are attained by us?

Commentary

« Sorrows like dwelling in the womb » refers to being born in various lives of human existence. *Śrīmannāma* can be also taken to mean « the sacred Name Nārāyaṇa associated with his consort Śrī ».

Verse 30

majjanmanaḥ phalamidaṁ madhukaiṭabhāre matprārthanīya [*madanugraha eṣa eva*
tvad bhṛitya bhṛitya paricārakabhṛitya bhṛitya bhṛityasya bhṛitya [*iti māṁ smara lokanātha.*

Translation

Oh, the destroyer of [the asuras] Madhu and Kaiṭabha! Oh the Lord of the universe! This is the fruit of my birth! This is the grace I seek, which you must bestow on me! You should consider me as the servant of the servant who is the servant of the servant of the attendant to the servant of your servant.

Commentary

The prayer to Vishṇu by Kulaśekhara is to consider him to be the seventh servant in the series of servants of servants (*aṭiyārkku aṭiyār*). This conception of servant of servants in a series is attributed to Ālvārs. The insistence is obviously on the experience of love between the servant (*dāsya bhakti*) and the Master God Vishṇu.

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Verse 31

nāthe naḥ puruṣottame trijagatāmekādhipe cetasā
sevye svasya padasya dātari sure nārāyaṇe tiṣṭhati
yaṁ kañcit puruṣādhamaṁ katipaya grāmeśamalpārthadaṁ
sevāyai mrigayāmahe naramaho mūṭā varākā vayam.

Translation

Nārāyaṇa the supreme Person, Ruler of the three worlds, worthy to be honoured by the mind, giver of his abode, God, is standing as our Lord. [Not approaching him], we are seeking to serve someone who is the lowest person, who possesses some villages, insignificant giver, undistinguished man! What wretched, foolish beings we are!

Commentary

When we have the supreme Lord of all the worlds and the supreme donor of all gifts, we seek human or divine beings for their trifling gifts. Such an attitude is one of folly.

Verse 32

madana parihara sthitiṁ madīye manasi mukunda
[*padāravindadhāmni*
haranayana kriśānunā kriśo'si smarasi na cakraparākramaṁ
[*murāreḥ.*

Translation

Lustful man, get away from being in my heart which is the dwelling place of the lotus feet of Mukunda. You are weakened by the fire of Śiva's eye; will you not think of the power of the wheel of the one who killed Mura?

Commentary

Madana can refer to the lustful man that is in every human being or to the god of lust, signifying in both cases simply lust. When one is full of *bhakti*, love of God, there is no place for lust in one's heart. Kāma, the god of lust was reduced to ashes by fire from Śiva's third eye for his offense in inspiring amourous thoughts for Pārvati when he was engaged in ascetical practices.

Verse 33

tatvaṁ bruvāṇāni paraṁ parasmāt madhu kṣarantīva satāṁ phalāni
prāvartaya prāñjalirasmi jihve nāmāni nārāyaṇa gocarāṇi.

Translation

Tongue, I salute you; spread the names that are related to Nārāyaṇa. They declare the most supreme essence of the Supreme; they are like honey overflowing; they are the fruits which the good desire.

Commentary

Prāñjali: having the folded hands outstreched in token of respect or humility.

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Verse 34

idaṁ sarīraṁ pariṇāmapeśalaṁ patatyavaśyaṁ slathasandhi
[jarjaram
kimauṣadhaiḥ kliśyasi mūḍha durmate nirāmayaṁ
[kriṣṇarasāyanaṁ piba.

Translation

This body, tender and transforming, certainly decays, frail with loose points; perplexed fool! why are you tormented, seeking medicines? Drink the healthy elixir of life which is Krishṇa.

Commentary

The foolish man seeks after various medicines when he is sure to decay and finally die. The life-producing medicine (*rasāyana*) is Vishṇu alone. Drink this elixir of life.

Verse 35

dārā vārākaravarasutā te tanūjo viriñciḥ
stotā vedastava suragaṇo bhrityavargaḥ prasādaḥ
muktir māyā jagadavikalaṁ tāvakī devakī te
mātā mitraṁ balaripusutastvayyato'nyan na jāne.

Translation

The most beautiful daughter of the milky ocean is your spouse. The four-faced is your son. The Veda praises you. The host of gods are your servants. Your grace is salvation. The world is the stamp of your *māyā*. Your mother is Devakī. The son of Mahendra, who strikes down the enemy with might, Arjuna, is your friend. Regarding you I do not know anything else.

Commentary

The daughter of the milky ocean is Lakshmī. Viriñci is the name of Brahmā. Brahmā is four-faced, though originally he had five faces and lost one when it was burnt off by the fire of Śiva's third eye because he had spoken disrespectfully. Brahmā in later mythology is supposed to issue forth from Vishṇu or mere manifestation of Vishṇu. Māyā is the mysterious power of God by means of which he creates the world and sustains it.

Verse 36

kriṣṇo rakṣatu no jagattrayaguruḥ kriṣṇaṁ namasyāmyahaṁ
kriṣṇenāmaraśatravo vinihatāḥ kriṣṇāya tasmai namaḥ
kriṣṇādeva samutthitaṁ jagadidaṁ kriṣṇasya dāso'smyahaṁ
kriṣṇe tiṣṭati sarvametadakhilaṁ he kriṣṇa rakṣasva mām.

Translation

Krishṇa, the guru of the three worlds, protect us. I worship Krishṇa. The enemies of the gods were destroyed by Krishṇa. To Krishṇa honour! This whole world sprang from Krishṇa. I am Krishṇa's disciple. All beings are established by Krishṇa. O Krishṇa, protect me.

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Commentary

Krishṇa is called *guru* since he dispels ignorance and gives the light of wisdom. Here again, the poet feels deeply how he is the servant of Krishṇa and wants to serve him and love him accordingly as his master and Lord.

Verse 37

tatvaṁ prasīda bhagavan kuru mayyanāthe
viṣṇo kripāṁ paramakāruṇikaḥ kila tvam
saṁsāra sāgara nimagna mananta dīna-
muddartumarhasi hare puruṣottamo'si.

Translation

O Lord, full of good qualities, all-pervasive, Being without end, the most merciful; you, show mercy to me, a destitute. Bring me ashore, the wretched me immersed in the sea of rebirth. Your are Hari who tears off the sorrows of your devotees. You are the supreme Person.

Commentary

Here is a passionate cry of the poet for Vishṇu's grace and help to redeem him from the sea of rebirths.

Verse 38

namāmi nārāyaṇapādapaṅkajaṁ karomi nārāyaṇapūjanaṁ sadā
vadāmi nārāyaṇanāma nirmalaṁ smarāmi nārāyaṇatatvamavyayam.

Translation

I venerate Nārāyaṇa's lotus feet. I always do Nārāyaṇa's sacrifices. I utter the immaculate name, Nārāyaṇa. I think of Nārāyaṇa's imperishable essence.

Commentary

Karomi, vadāmi, smarāmi are significant to denote worship in body or action, speech and mind; they correspond to *pūjanam, kīrtanam,* and *smaranam. Namāmi* is the sum-total of all these acts, leading to his sacred feet.

Verse 39

śrīnātha nārāyaṇa vāsudeva śrīkriṣṇa bhaktapriya cakrapāṇe
śrīpadmanābhācyuta kaiṭabhāre śrīrāma padmākṣa hare murāre.

Translation

Śrīnātha, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, Śri Krishṇa, dear to the devotees, wheel in hand, firm nave of the sacred lotus, Kaiṭabhave, Śri Rāma, Padmākṣa, Hari, destroyer of Mura.

Commentary

These are the names of Vishṇu.

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Verse 40

ananta vaikuṇṭha mukunda kriṣṇa govinda dāmodara mādhaveti
vaktuṁ samartho'pi na vakti kaścit aho janānāṁ
[*vyasanābhimukhyam.*

Translation

Eternal, Vaikuntha, Mukunda, Krishṇa, Govinda, Dāmodara, Mādhava: thus people call [God], opposing their evil passion. [Even though] possessed with power to pronounce [these names], no one utters them. Alas, [what a surprise!]

Commentary

Some more names and titles of Vishṇu. The poet expresses his surprise that no one utters them.

Verse 41

dhyāyanti ye viṣṇumanantamavyayaṁ hrutpadmamadhye satataṁ
[*vyavasthitam*
samāhitānāṁ satatābhayapradaṁ te yānti siddhiṁ paramāñ ca
[*vaiṣṇavīm.*

Translation

Whosoever meditates on the all pervading, eternal, imperishable, the ever permanent indwelling [God] in the centre of the lotus-heart, the one who grants refuge to those who always concentrate on him, will obtain the supreme Vaishṇava perfection.

Commentary

The supreme Vaishṇava perfection is *moksha* as understood by the Vaishṇavas; i.e. attainment of the feet of God, united with him in perfect love.

Verse 42

kṣīra sāgara taraṅga śīkarāsāra tārakita cārumūrtaye
bhogibhoga śayanīyaśāyine mādhavāya madhuvidviṣe namaḥ.

Translation

Honour to Mādhava who has a beautiful body, bestarred like the spray of the waves of the milky ocean, who is sleeping on the coil of the serpent as the couch, who is the enemy of Madhu.

Commentary

Madhu is a demon slain by Krishṇa. Kaiṭabha and Madhu were two demons who sprang from the ear of Vishṇu while he was asleep at the end of a kalpa, and were about to kill Brahmā who was lying on the lotus that sprang from Vishṇu.

Verse 43

āścaryametaddi manuṣya loke sudhāṁ parityajya viṣaṁ pibanti
nāmāni nārāyaṇagocarāṇi tyaktvā'nyavācaḥ kuhakāḥ paṭhanti.

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Translation

In this world of men this is a wonder. [That is to say], rogues, disregarding the names that belong to Nārāyaṇa, recite aloud other words. [This is like] drinking poison, abandoning nectar.

Commentary

Perhaps there is here an allusion to the other gods, indicated by the word *names*, the worship of which is wrong and that the worshippers of other gods are not honest. The text is not very clear. It can be understood as referring to those who are godless and without any religion at all.

Verse 44

lāṭīnetraputīpayodharaghaṭīrevātaṭīduṣkuṭī-
pāṭīradrumavarṇanena Kavibhir mūḍairdinaṁ nīyate
govindeti janārdaneti jagatāṁ nātheti kriṣṇeti ca
vyāhāraiḥ samayas tadekamanasāṁ puṁsāmatikrāmati.

Translation

Foolish poets spend the days describing the eyes, funnel-shaped breasts, and the jars of women of Lāṭa (country), and the despicable huts and sandal tree on the banks of the river, Reva (Narmadā), etc. To the men who engage their mind solely on the one Lord, days pass by with the utterances of hymns [such as] « Govinda, Janārdana, Jagannātha, Krishṇa ».

Commentary

Laṭi, i.e., women belonging to Laṭa country. Since they commonly appear with jar or pot of water carried by them, there is a reference to it also.

Verse 45

ayācyamakreyamayātayāmam apācyamakṣayyamadurbharaṁ me
astyeva pātheyamitaḥ prayāṇe śrīkriṣṇanāmāmrita bhāgadheyam.

Translation

Not necessary for sacrifice or purchase, not stale (ineffectual), not necessary to be cooked, indestructible, not hard to bear, is the food determined for the journey [in the world of rebirths]; [that is] the riches of the nectar of Sri Krishṇa's name.

Commentary

Here again the easiness of the devout recital of Krishṇa's names and the futility of other practices without real love for him are stressed.

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Verse 46

yasya priyau śrutadharau kavilokavīrau
mitre dvijanmavara pāraśavāvabhūtām
tenāmbujākṣacaraṇāmbujaṣaṭpadena
rājñā kritā kritiriyaṁ kulaśekhareṇa.

Translation

The one who has as dear friends the twice-born (brāhmans) and men of mixed caste, who retain what has been heard, and heroes of the world of poets; such a man, the king Kulaśekhara, who takes refuge like bees in the lotus feet of the lotus-eyed Śri Mukunda, composed this literary work.

Commentary

Pāraśava means « mixed caste », i.e., offspring of *brāhmaṇa* and *śudra*. Among king Kulaśekhara's friends are found both high and low caste people; they are learned men, heroes of the world of poets. This may be the colophone addeded later on.

Verse 47

iti śrīmukundamālāstotraṁ sampūrṇam.

Translation

Thus ends the sacred hymn *Śrī Mukundamālā.*

CONCLUSION

After praying for the help of God Vishṇu in order that he may sing his holy names, Kulaśekhara greets his God with jubilent praise that God may long live and be ever triumphant. The poet asks for only one favour from God: namely, never to forget, with his grace, his sacred feet in every birth. His only motive in worshipping God is to beg the grace of ever meditating on him in every birth, and not to obtain release or avoid hell, or to enjoy Indraloka. He prays for love of God (*bhakti*) as the only thing needed in all birth, that he is not interested in the consequences of righteousness and good deed. Such a *bhakti* consists in contemplating the sacred feet of God always, both at death and out of the hour of death, in longing for the feet of God, in melting in the body of God, and in experiencing his grace, sweetness, his various senses in his physical appearance. The only food for the mind is to think of Hari. The only refuge to resort to in the midst of evils and sufferings is God Vishṇu and *bhakti* to him. God alone is the boat of safety in the ocean of misery and rebirth. *Bhakti* to God alone is the effective means of crossing such an ocean. This *bhakti* is to be received from God as his grace. *Bhakti* pervades the saint's thoughts, words, actions, his company and his surroundings. *Bhakti* is to be experienced in the five senses in

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order that it may slowly and steadily sink in the person of the devotee. God alone is the medicine against the rebirth; he indwells in the heart of the *bhakta* who has to realize him in meditation and contemplation. *Nārāyaṇa mantra* is a spiritual and « mystical » way of realizing the essence of God within oneself. The great universe itself is tiny, compared to God whose glory is realised in the being of the *bhakta*. Such an experience of God is manifested in many signs of the *bhakta's* body. God Vishṇu is the only God that the *bhakta* knows and no one else. God is the precious pearl in every aspect of the *bhakta*'s daily life and experience. *Śri Krishṇa mantra* is the only true *mantra*, most efficacious to dispel darkness of ignorance and illusion, to cross over the sea of rebirth, to obtain God's grace and all other benefits.

God is the only medicine against all ills of every kind. *Bhakti* to him alone is fruitful in obtaining salvation; all other religious observances and ascetical practices are vain and fruitless without inner *bhakti* to God. God's essence is concretised in the *mantra*; by repeating the *mantra* one realizes God in oneself. The supreme grace which the poet asks for is to be a servant of servants of God in the form of *dāsya bhakti* which consists in being at the feet of God, the supreme Master and Lord, as his servant, united to his sacred feet in love and service. This expression of *bhakti* deeply realizes the *bhakta*'s unworthiness before the Master and in humble submission and surrender he serves him lovingly; but this kind of service should not be understood in the sense of something external, doing some pious external acts, praising in words the names of God and singing in songs his glories and qualities. This service is deeply meditative and inner, relishing God's love for him and attaining his mode of being. In other words, *dāsya bhakti* implies meditation, contemplation and inner relish and taste which is all spiritual, and expresses itself in simple faith and surrender to God's feet.

In face of this God-realization all other ends of human life are dispised by the poet. They are insignificant and temporary and entail perpetual going round in the cycle of rebirth and transmigration. He does not fear any of his enemies since he has Hari as his Lord. He confesses that he knows only Krishṇa and that it is sufficient for him because Krishṇa is the essence of all that exists and that he experiences. Nārāyaṇa and Krishṇa are the only hope and salvation for mankind; hence they are proposed as the unique essence, unique medicine, unique *mantra*, unique means of salvation, unique purpose of life.

Such, I think, is the type of Vaishṇava religion that is taught in this beautiful poem of Kulaśekhara Āḻvār.

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C. G. DIEHL

MAṬAṆ-MĀ AS *SĀDHANA* IN BHAKTI
NOTES ON THE VAISHNAVA POETESS ĀṆṬĀḶ OF SRIVILLIPUTTUR

In classical Tamil Literature the two themes *akam* and *puṟam* are predominant. In very simplified presentation they are said to deal with « Love » and « War », the inside and outside of human existence. For *puṟam* a more comprehensive theme can be inferred from the division *Aṟam, Poruḷ, Iṉpam* of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* where the last portion, *Iṉpam* covers the contents of *akam* in terms of love between man and woman more specifically qualified by the Sanskrit equivalent *kāma*.

Whatever it is the *akam* poetry has aquired a role also for devotional language to express relationship to the Divine, which may generally be named as Bhakti. The meaning and significance of the subject in the literature of India will be hinted at only by reference to two strictly limited areas. We shall give some notes on one particular Bhakta, the Tamil Poetess *Āṇṭāḷ*, one of the twelve *āḻvār*, who lived in the 8th century A.D., from 716 to 731 according to certain astrological data, and we shall take up just one peculiar item, namely the *maṭaṉ-mā* or *maṭal-ūrtal*.

In dealing with this subject we are to a large extent depending on Pandit S. Krishnaveniyammaiyar's book *Villiputtūr Viḷakku*, printed in Madras 1959. Āṇṭāḷ is the « Light of Villiputtur » the famous temple town in the Ramnad district.

The word *maṭaṉ-mā* has as its first part *maṭal*, which is translated by the Tamil Lexicon as « flat leaf of palm », or « jagged stem of a palmyra leaf » and thus a « Horse of palmyra stems on which a thwarted lover mounts to proclaim his grief and win his love ».

Reference is made to Tolkappiyam, Porulatikaram 51 « *ēṟiya maṭaṟṟiṟam* », the way of mounting the *maṭal*, indicating unreciprocated love, *peruntiṇai*.

With *mā* added the meaning of riding is brought into special prominence, *mā* being translated as male of horse, pig or elephant. *Maṭal ūrtal* is the more common Tamil expression for this desperate way of

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expressing one's feelings of frustration and disappointment in love affairs. A man should ride through the main streets of the village with a picture of his beloved, drawn by himself on a piece of cloth before him on which his eyes are directed without ever blinking. This concentration makes him indifferent to attacks of animals, excessive heat or rain. The town people may bring his intention to a test by pulling him along and of signs of his manliness decide to let him win his purpose or to kill him.

This is one way of expressing feelings, one among the seven modes which apart from following the traditional division into five *tiṇai* or regions also include *kaikkiḷai* and *Peruntiṇai*, the first meaning unreciprocated love and the second love unacceptable to relatives or improper for reasons of age or caste. The third part of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, *Iṉpam/Kāma* accordingly deals with the problem behind *maṭal* in the chapter *Nāṇuttuṟavuraittal*, « Rejection of modesty ». The first seven of its ten distichs speak of *maṭal* as the only and necessary remedy: « To those who have experienced love's joy and suffer afflicted, there is no help so efficient as the palmyra horse ». « Laying reserve aside, the body and atman (*uyir*) that can endure no more will mount the palmyra horse ».

This is not fit for women to do according to public opinion but even a woman can be brought to desperate actions by her intense love. The vast literature of *akam*, especially so the *Aka Nānūṟu*, one of the collection *Eṭṭuttokai*, presents sceneries and talks from both sides. There will be room for disappointment and longing as well as for enjoyment. As a means for removing barriers between the two parties *maṭal* is not open to women in its usual form, but women can be brought to using extreme means for achieving their purposes. When a man climbs the palmyra raft he exposes himself to ridicule as *Tirukkuṟaḷ* 1134 expresses: « The raft of modesty and manliness is swept away by love's rushing tide ». So also for a woman « The loss of maiden modesty », *Tirukkuṟaḷ* 1251, is the drastic step for her to reach the goal. « I cannot hide this pain (from others), nor can I reveal it without shame to him who caused it », Idem 1162. An act for the unhappy, loving maid equal in effect to *maṭal* is envisaged in *Tirukkuṟaḷ* 1137-39. The irresistible force of love makes the maid challenge public opinion of modesty and decency. « Even the love of women rends the veil of secrecy and courts publicity, forgetting that they are too virtuous and liberal to be overcome by it ». « The foolish village folk giggle, laugh and mock me and my pallid cheeks as they pass. What do they know, poor ones, of the bitter torments and pangs I feel « In the words of Krishnaveniyammaiyar this, being improper to woman modesty, is a kind of *maṭal*[1]. After having presented the implication of *maṭal ūrtal* and stated that Tamil books confirm that women do not ride the *maṭal* the author, commenting on some authorities like the *Tirukkkuṟaḷ*, raises the question if that is the whole truth.

1. S. Kiruṣṇavēṇiyammaiyar, *Villiputtūr Viḷakku*, Madras, 1959, p. 70.

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The point of reference is now that the whole subject/theme of *akam* with many of its delicate and intricate details has become applicable to the devotional relationship between man and his God. Here just one item, the *maṭaṉ-mā* will be looked into. An obvious reference is found in the production of Tirumaṅkayāḻvār, where two poems bear the heading *Tirumaṭal.* One, the *Ciṟiyamaṭal* has 77 distichs and the other, the *Periya Tirumaṭal* has 148. According to Krishnaveniyammaiyar's presentation of Tirumaṅkaiyar he was so obsessed by love for Kaṇṇaṉ (Krishna) that he wanted immediately without any delay come into him and enjoy full happiness, but the Lord wanted him to remain for some time more in this world and therefore did not let him reach his desire's aim. Enraged Tirumaṅkai says he will destroy all the places where the Lord has manifested himself. In the *Periya Tirumaṭal* he states that this Lord who has done so many wonders and has all the divine qualities and has become manifest in the holy places will be scolded by the poet, as *Koṭiyaṉ, Kaṭiyaṉ* and *Naṟpaṇaṟṟavaṉ*, that is as cruel, hardhearted and deprived of all good qualities [2]. Challenging public reaction is also practised by another *āḻvār*, perhaps the foremost poet among them, Nammāḻvār.

In Bhakti movement the Lord is conceived as male and the soul as female. The emotional realisation of this leads occasionally a Bhakta to try adopting the nature and behaviour of a woman in order to experience the fullest implication of divine love. Maṅkaiyāḻvār in his *Periya Tirumaṭal* expresses his feelings and reaction as coming out of a woman's nature born in him, and accordingly his *maṭal* takes the form of scolding and abusing the Lord. In so doing he turns to the ways of Northern India, he says, *vaṭaneṟiye vēṇṭiṉōm* [3]. This he does in opposition to Tamil tradition which declares the *maṭal* unfit for women. Nammāḻvār has in his *Tiruviruttam* equalized the longing of the soul for union with the Lord to the love of a maid for a man. The individual soul, the *jivātma* is thought of as a woman and the *paramātma* as a man.

Adopting *maṭal* as a means for reaching full union with the Deity *Āṇṭāḷ* opens the question: How can this method suit a woman? An interpretation through erotic psychology does perhaps lead to the symbolism of the witches' broomstickride in a different and far too wide cultural complex, but in Tamil tradition women use other means. It is a question of provoking the Deity by feigned dislike or apparent negligence.

The *maṭal* of Āṇṭāḷ, says Krishnaveniyammaiyar, is not like the *maṭal* of other *āḻvār* who have become immersed in Bhakti to the Lord. Theirs is only causing pain to the body, but the *maṭal* of Āṇṭāḷ is involving the soul or « stinging to the quick », *marmaparici*, and thus it has an effect of causing fear to the friends, trembling to the wise, bewil-

2. Kiruṣṇavēṇiyammaiyar, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-3.
3. Nālāyira Tivyaprapantam, Madras, 1929, p. 635, distich 40.

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derment to those who forget the name of the Lord and do not worship him, and ruin to the life-pulse of the Vaishnava Siddhanta ». Thus it was a more cruel, outrageous *maṭal* than that of others [4].

Āṇṭāḷ's relationship with Kaṇṇaṉ is that of love with total union as the goal of her desire. From her childhood onwards this desire is the power guiding her behaviour. The flowers her father, Periyāḻvār had plucked for the Deity in the temple Āṇṭāḷ took away and adorned herself with them. This was an outrageous act to the father but he was told in a dream that the god was pleased. For Āṇṭāḷ it meant an identification with the Lord's company. She experienced a handicap in not being born among the *āyar maṅkaiyar*, the women of the herdsmen, playing with Krishna and envied the maids who woke him up in the month of *mārkaḻi*. She finds a way, however, into the experience of their happiness through a doll, *pāvai*, and lives up to the original story in her poem *Tirupāvai* [5]. One possible interpretation of the final words in the verses of *Tirupāvai*, the often untranslated address *ēlōrempāvai*, is that the devoted lady herself on purpose shows indifference to the call to wake up and play and sing for the Lord, in other words an act of *maṭal*.

Krishnaveniyammaiyar says that *maṭal* has a point in its favour as Sadhana in Bhakti in being brought about by the mutual love and not by any outsider. Intensive love and nothing else forces the loving partner to do outrageous things. As a woman Āṇṭāḷ can cause reproach and slander from her surrounding through such acts as are indicated in her longer poem *Nācciyār Tirumoḻi*, I:8 that is appearing in dirty clothes, shaggy hair, having white lips and eating only once. Krishnaveniyammaiyar explains the behaviour of Āṇṭāḷ by likening her to the householder of a king who was left to beg her food — Āṇṭāḷ wanted complete union and was not satisfied with « crumbs ». As this was a shame to the king he had to take action — as a result of the *maṭal ūrtal*.

In the book referred to the answer to a question what acts of Āṇṭāḷ can be considered as *maṭal* is as follows: Doing penance, falling to the feet of Aṉaṅkaṉ/Maṉmataṉ, the Cupid, building toyhouses of sand by little girls, *cir̲r̲iḻi̲laittal*, drawing loops on sand, *kūṭal i̲laittal*, which is done by love-lorn ladies for « divining the safe arrival of their lords » [6].

Falling to the feet of Aṉaṅkaṉ, the god of love for help to gain the full access to Kaṇṇaṉ is outrageous to him and makes him really angry. Nor is the drawing of loops pleasing to him. They are coercive methods in a way and the Lord destroys what the young girls have built up, but his anger turns out to be a point in their favour. He will have to repent his bad temper. When Āṇṭāḷ makes her eyes rolling and neglects her body the Lord is said to be impressed by such signs of desperate love, and Āṇṭāḷ is successful in gaining the Lord for herself.

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4. Kiruṣṇavēṇiyammaiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
5. Kiruṣṇavēṇiyammaiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
6. *Tamil Lexicon*, Madras, 1924-34, sub *kūṭal*.

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The point is that she is making the Lord come to her and not vice versa according the rules of Bhakti, according to which the devotee reaches the presence of the Lord through his own efforts. This is termed *svakata svīkāram* but what Āṇṭāḷ is aiming at through *maṭal* is *parakata svīkāram* [7].

Thereby the Lord himself is coming to accept her.

From the heading given to the 14 *tirumoḻi* acts of *maṭal* can be inferred. The reference is to *Nālāyira Tivyaprapantam* [8]. The contents of the first *tirumoḻi* is indicated as « Worship of Kāmaṉ (the Cupid to make Kaṇṇaṉ agree ». In the second young women ask Māyaṉ (the One with dark complexion, Vishnu) not to destroy the small house, *cirril*, of theirs. Number ten speaks of changing the Lord's way of acting and contains reproachful remarks about what can be done, Coming after tales of Krishna's play with the maids it leads on to a declaration about Raṅkanātaṉ, the Lord of Srirangam that « if the word is a lie that those who approach him he will approach, who will confirm that! ». It ends up with a bold statemant that « you will bring her (Āṇṭāḷ) to the place where Vishnu is with his Lakshmi, Cītaraṉiruntuḻi.

Although the word *maṭal* is used with a meaning different from its original implication the justification for the term as Sadhana in Bhakti is clear. The human soul in a devotional experience has reached a state of union with the Deity comparable to and expressed in terms of sexual union, *kūṭal*. A separation has taken place due to indifference on the side of one partner, real or feigned or due to social restrictions, family consideration, rules of tradition etc. The *maṭal* has a double aim, to overcome indifference and silence outside criticism. They both fit in with the outrageous acts of Āṇṭāḷ to bring about a complete union with Kaṇṇaṉ or the Deity, which according to sacred tradition was achieved when she was absorbed into union with Raṅkanātaṉ, the Lord Vishnu of Srirangam. Even if her actions have little to do with the traditional acts of *maṭal ūrtal* their purpose justify the use of the term. A social affront she offered already as a small child to her father when she applied the garlands offered to the Deity to herself. Severe *nōṉpu*, not to please the Deity but to enrage him, won success in the end and accounts for her being worshipped afterwards as a Deity herself, not only at Srivilliputtur but at other places also The high born maid disgraced herself with the company of low-caste herds women in her imaginative and intense Bhakti to reach the summit [9]. Her *maṭal* was successful.

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7. Kiruṣṇavēṇiyammaiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
8. NālāyiraTivyaprapantam, pp. 145-70.
9. Kiruṣṇavēṇiyammaiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

Other literature consulted and referred to in the text:
J. S. M. Hooper, *Hymns of the Alvars*, Madras, 1929.
Tirukkuṟaḷ Mūlamum Parimēlaḻakaruraiyum with explanations and translation into English by K. V. Velucettiyar, Madras, 1919.
Tirukkuṟaḷ, Mūlamum, Uraiyum, Āṅkila Moḻìpeyarppum, by A. Aranganata Mudaliyar, Madras, 1933.

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A. ESTELLER

THE UDĀTTA AS KEY-STONE OF THE DECIPHERING CODE FOR THE ṚGVEDA-SAṂHITĀ

I. - THE UDĀTTA'S PROSODICAL VALUE

The attention of ṛgvedic scholars is directed to this writer's previous publications on this topic, especially in Annals (B.O.R.I. — Diamond Jubilee Vol.) and to the *references* mentioned therein, besides the article in the Bombay Univ. Journal (Arts) which will have already appeared by the time the present essay is published (cf. particularly, Annals, loc. cit. pp. 615 ff.). The meaning of this *archaic prosodical* value of the udātta will be made clear by what may be rightly considered as the « shibboleth » of this archaic versifying factor.

Note: for our archaic *Pp.-like* (no saṃdhis;!) text-transcription and *conventional signs* (on the right-hand margin at the pāda-end) we use mainly: = (no change), × (changed word-order), + (emendation — given in *italics* in the text), S(*s*ubstitution), L(*l*ength-value for a « hrasva » in the rhythm-scheme), A(length-value for *a*ccent), R(*r*esolution of kṣaipras, vowels or saṃdhis), H(*h*aplology), d(*d*eletion), I(*i*nsertion). If a saṃdhi is metre-demanded a + between the words concerned is inserted in the *text*. *Long* vowels: ā, ī, ū, ṝ. A *short* vowel with *length*-value appears as ä, ï, ü, ṛ; a *long* vowel *with* accent as â. î, û, ṛ or ǻ, ǐ, ǔ, ṛ́. *Diphthongs* go in *archaic form:* e=*ai*, o=*au*, ai=*āi*, au=*āu*; *if* resolved, they are: ayi, avu... or a-i, a-u...; *aai*, *aau*; and *long* vowels: ā=*aa*..., Any other details will be clear from the context *.

The staple-references are to Con(ordance, Vedic), Gr(assmann's Ṛgveda-Wörterbuch), G(eldner's Translation) O(ldenberg's Noten), *without* further specification, since they are *ad loc.* or *s. v.*, naturally. And mark (as we have often repeated!) that the trenchant strictures passed here (and elsewhere) — on the *editorial* Saṃhitā-*K*āra (=SK)

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* For typographic reasons ä, ï, ü, ṛ *with* accent will go as ä, ï, ü, ṛ (or ṛ). The same for ṛ *with* accent = ṛ. The intelligent reader will easily discern them, it is hoped. A final * in a text-line means: text improvable - which applies to its *commentary* too! See note at this article's end! N.B.

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agency and its « traditional » text (or devotees) — are not meant to question their « good intentions », but to awaken ṛgvedic scholarship to the deleterious effect that the said SK-agency's misguided « palimpsesting method » has had on the *original* (and immeasurably *superior*!) ṛṣi-kavis' own *ur-text*, which we are bent on reconstructing — for their own due honour and India's and Indology's benefit — by means of our rational text-critical approach. — « satyam eva jayatai ».

And now for the texts in question.

V, 33, 5

a) vayáṃ tay indra *táva yá-+iva* näraḥ(!) (SK!) ×SIA(!)
b) śárdhaḥ jajñānāḥ *yaatắṃ* sa-*räthaṃ*(!) (SK!) SA+(!)
c) *á+asmắn*(!) jagamyāḥ ahi-śuṣma *sá tvám*(!) (SK!) +S(!) *
d) bhágaḥ ná *háv- yáḥ* prabhṛthaiṣ*u āyáuḥ*(!) (SK!) RHS+ *

cf. VII, 30, 4

a) vayáṃ tay indra *táva yá-+iva* näraḥ(!) (SK!) (supra)
b) *śárdhaḥ jajñānắḥ yaatắṃ sa-räthaṃ*(!) (N.B.) (SK!) S+LH
c) yácchā sūríbhyaḥ u*tá nä-+várütham* (N.B.) (SK!) (supra)
d) s*u*-ābh*úvaḥ* jaraṇắṃ *c-+aśnavāma*(!) (N.B.) (S.K!) RHI+(!) *

+X, 65, 4

c) pṛkṣắḥ iva maháyantä- *s*u-rātáyaḥ (N.B.) LH *
d) daiv*á-* *s*tavantai(!) mánuṣā*sa-* sūráyaḥ(!) (SK!) H+ *

+X, 32, 9

a) aitắṃ *naḥ* bhadrắ dádataḥ maghắni (N.B.) (SK!) ×+S
b) kaläśaṃ k*ü*ru-śravaṇaṃ kriyā*ta*(!)
(cf. *c*!) (N.B.) (SK!) ×A+(!)
c) dắnäḥ ít vaḥ, maghavānä-, *sá* astu (cf. *b*!) (SK!) LSH
d) ayáṃ ca sáumaḥ yáṃ hṛdï bíbharmi (N.B.) (SK!) ×L *

We had previously used these very texts, centered on the first two, for an accent-length shibboleth proof, yet trying to preserve much more of the SK's palimpsest. We *did* solve the metrical-mechanical difficulties in function of the accent, but not the *total* sense, which comes into its own only with the above restoration, sense+idiom+context-*demanded*! It should be obvious to an attentive text-critic, that the kavi's intended *main* sense *must* have been: « We are yours, Indra, just-like the maruts are too; (hence) come to our aid ». But the SK's vyākaraṇa prevents him from seeing or expressing *that*, since *he* cannot use the archaic haplology « *yá-+iva* », which for him can only be « yáy iva » or « yái va », which latter he turns into « yái *ca* » misled by *his* « ca » in 8b! And he can't see the sense of « tai+táva » in the *same* sentence (thinks *he*!) — hence, misled by the pseudomodel in *his mis*handled 2a (« ná tái tay indr*a asmád ädhi ṛjrắḥ* »), he « improves » *his* 5a into « vayáṃ tái tai », where « tái » makes no sense (*pace omnes!*), as against 2a, where it rightly *does* (q.v.). Hence, he confusingly misses-messes the kavi's sense-making: « We are yours, like those men who were born as your troop fellow-riders *on* (your) chariot ». And here again

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the blundering vidūṣaka-SK, misled by the surrounding *nomin.* pl., misadapts the pāda-end into « yātáś ca *r*äthāḥ », hecause of « jajñānáḥ », of course (mis-analysing « yātáṃ+s- » as « yātás *a*rátham » and miscorrecting it into « ca räthāḥ » — to suit « yātáḥ »!) — but look up Gr., s.v. « sa-rátha- » for enlightenment! And now — with *our text*! — the sequel should follow smoothly: « So, as such, you come to us, you impetuous one — who are to be invoked in *human* offerings ». But look at the SK turning it all into a foolish *3rd* person address(!) obviously for caviar to the general of the all-gobbling SK-acolytes! (« risum teneatis »?). And look at the text changes and substitutions he makes to save *his* vyākaraṇa and to paper over his rejection or ignorance of archaic haplologies, etc. — Finally note that here we have, as in numerous supporting cases, as we shall see, the short *a* (in « närah, sa-*r*ätham ») considered by the *kavi* as *equivalently long* under the influence of *both* the accent *and* the rhythm-position (cf. « yácchā », *without* final accent, but as word-*final*-syllable: cf. VI, 30, 4c, in a rhythm-protected position). — The SK (=*S*aṃhitā-*Kāra*) editor can do nothing about it without ruining the metre (*and* sense) still further with his quantity-*only* prosody (vs. the archaic kavis' quantity+accent+position one) and, therefore, he has to lump it — as « ārṣa », poor fellow! — forced by the numerous other such cases, of which « jäna- páñca jā́nāḥ » are conspicuous examples (in triṣṭubh-*ends*), cf. Gr. for clever near-miss remarks on those words (q.v.). But the moment our SK gets half a chance, he desperately tries — in pukka « traditional » vidūṣaka-paṇḍitś style — to dodge that « flaw » (thins *he*!) by somehow variating the *subsequent* parallel texts, especially to avoid trite punar-ukti — as above, in the obvious case of VII, 30, 4 vs. V, 35, 5 even against the natural demands of context and style, with his patchy « deva » vs. the (« unmetrical ») « närah » of the original. And in this the editor-SK goes much further than might be considered believable otherwise, precisely because of the natural repetitive trend of the *anthological collection* (of closely similar themes, traditional style and common circumstances!) to be memorised and repeated by a *professional* class of reciters, who, besides, need some kind of safeguard against confusing similarity and-or identity of phraseology, especially in the *pratīka*-headings of pādas, stanzas *and* hymns. Naturally, a traditionally-bred *composing* kavi *will* borrow choice phrases or pādas and even hemistichs and take pride in completing or adapting them in an ingenious or unexpected manner; but an SK, in an *anthology*, with many such cases crowded together, will fight shy of such « monotonous poverty-stricken » echo-effect.

A striking case in point is VII, 30, 4 vs. its *preceding* (in the SK-order!) V, 33, 5. The two stanzas being so similarly styled and structured, we naturally expect:

VII, 30, 4

a) vayáṃ t*a*y indra t*áva* y*á*-+*iva närah*(!)
b) *śárdhaḥ jajñānáḥ yaatáṃ sa-rätham*

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But we see the obvious SK-hand spiriting away the (for *him*!) de-*faulting* « nāraḥ » and twisting 4b into a patch-work (cf. X, 65, 4b+32, 9b!) directed towards the *patrons* in 4cd, but callously leaving in the air the correspondent term to the *prominent* « vayám » in 4a, while patching the gap with a « upamám »(!) *filched brazenly* from the closely-neighbouring 3b! (a gaffe that no self-respecting *kavi* will even dream of committing!). Everything clamours for the kavi's original:

VII, 30, 4

a) vayáṃ(!) *tay* indra, *táva yá-+iva näraḥ*	(N.B.)	×+SA
b) *śárdhaḥ jajñānáḥ yaatáṃ sa-rätha*ṃ(!)	(N.B.)	SA+
c) yácchā suríbhyaḥ *utá nä-*(!!) várūtham	(N.B.)	SHL
d) *su-*ābhúvaḥ jaraṇáṃ *c-+aśnavāma*(!)	(N.B.)	R+ *

Here it should be clear that the SK is also dodging the ā-anuprāsa in 4d). And we may add here for confirmation of 4b+V, 33, 5b (in our first *tentative* solution above):

X, 40, 1

a) ráthaṃ *yáantaṃ* kúha *kä- vaa*ṃ narā	(SK!)	dRHL
b) práti dyumántaṃ suv-itáya bhūṣati		=
+I, 141, 8		
a) *agníḥ yáa*n ráthaḥ ná śíkvabhiḥ kṛtáḥ	(SK!)	IR×
b) *ú- dy*áṃ áṅgaibhiḥ aruṣáibhiḥ īyatai	(SK!)	HI(!)
c) át asya tái kṛṣṇ*áa*ḥ dakṣi *s*ūráyaḥ(!) (cf. G.+Gr.)		(?!)
d) śūrásya ná tvaiṣáthāt īṣatai váyaḥ	(SK!)	S(?)
= c) át asya *tyái*(!) *sū́riyā-+n-+ákṣi* kṛṣṇ*áa*ḥ	(SK!)	×SRHI(!)
= d) śūrásya ná tvaiṣáthāt *väyaḥ īṣatai* (cf. *b!*)	(SK!)	×SA(!)

(For the SK's metrical mess and messy vidūṣaka-text, especially in 8c, cf. Gr.+G., all at sea! The above text-critical reconstruction *alone* can make sensible style, sense *and* metre! For further SK-manhandlings cf. the « fillers » in X, 40, 1a and the metrical butchery in X, 141, 8a (to « pair » *his* messed 8b), and in 8c to match 8d! But the SK-acolytes *will* gobble up anything without wincing, of course. Note too the above X, 65, 4c, where the SK dodges *his* faulty pāda-final *main* rhythm by intruding *his odd* « mánuṣāya » (*pace* G.!). But there was no metrical flaw for the kavi who used a normal-archaic haplology (which alone makes sense, q.v.). Let us add here the SK's mis-śruti+mis-analysis+ mis-correction causing further errors in V, 33, 5a (« tai » for « *táva* », « yai ca » for « *yá-+iva* »), 5b (« yātáś ca räthāḥ » for « *yaatáṃ sa-rätham* » — how the Maruts, or anyone, can be « yātáś ca räthāḥ » is nobody's business!), 5c (« ahi-śuṣma-satvā »!? — for « sá tv*ám* », cf. 5ab, and « jagamyā*t* » for « jagamyā*ḥ* », which is *the* right form=*2nd. p.* optative, as context-demanded, cf. *ab* too), 5d (mis-analysis of the hapl. « *háv-* yáḥ », context-indicated, and the *odd* « cāruḥ » for « āyáuḥ » to save *his* verse+vyākaraṇa vs. V, 41, 19d!).

The same can be said of the parallel, VII, 30 4a (as above, and

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« daiva » filched from X, 65, 4d for rhythm+variety), 4b (« śárdhaḥ » vs. the SK's « śūra » from 1d+2c(!) against the context) of 4a for variety, as said; 4c (to save his 4b context+verse — wrongly), 4d (pseudo-kṣaipra, verse-ruining, and *full* subject missing, by SK's mis-correction of « aśnavāma », cf. « Gr., s.v. « aś » in *parasm.*!). In X, 65, 4c with rhythm-lengthening of the final word-hrasva together with haplology as in VII, 30, 4c!, in the cases of « mahāyantā- » and « u*tá nā-* »); in 4d (as said) an outrageous case-change by our SK vidūṣaka-paṇḍit — who is simply averse to or ignorant of the kavi's haplology. — to get *his* end-rhythm! — But cf. Gr. for parallels+sense vs. the SK's foolish filching from I, 117, 21b! (context!).

The result is a typically *representative specimen* of the Saṃhitā-text as *SK-palimpsested distortion* of the ṛṣi-kavis' genuine *and* far-superior *and* perfectly metrical *and* sense-making Ṛgveda in its pristine form of quantity-cum-accent-cum-position metre, prosody and language-idiom.

And now the irrefragable testimony of those *b*isyllabic words is solidly confirmed by that of *tri*-syllabic ones in their serried battallions of « *ā*vasai, *ā*vasaḥ, *ā*vasā », and similar nouns (« sáhas, śávas... » together with « ātithiḥ », etc., which had already led the master=mind of an Oldenberg (in his excellent « Prolegomena » — too woefully neglected by Indian ṛgvedic scholarhip, alas!) to the clever near-miss of postulating a *special* way of *pronunciation*, though *not* of *formation* (as « ávas », etc.) for « those words », *all* of them marked by the one *single common* characteristic of the « *udātta* » *accent!*, which is what forced the present writer to the *only* possible logical conclusion (the crown of fifty years of text-critical ṛgvedic research) of the *prosodical length-equivalent value* of that accent under the influence of the *metrical rhythm-scheme.*

And this showed that the Ṛgveda *kavis* were in an archaic-linguistic stage of accent+quantity-prosody, while the trend of the living language was beginning to develop into the *post*-vedic, *pre*-classic and finally *classic* style of *quantity-only* metrical prosody, where accent simply does not *count* or even any more *exist.* And this was the linguistic-prosodical stage in which the SK-agency (about five-hundred years later!) lived and gave the final shape to the « traditional » Saṃhitā in what Oldenberg (with Arnold, « Vedic Metre ») calls its « orthoepic diaskeuasis ». Hence came the SK's « love's labour lost » of *transposing* the *archaic* text-state into the *new* one by steering a midway course between the two, preserving as far as possible the caracteristics of the *ancient* « chandas » while incorporating the *later* standards of *his* own « vyākaraṇa » as *paramount*, even *against* the kavi's own archaic vyākaraṇa, saṃdhi and chandas *in case of conflict*! But that swap *had to* mislead the SK far beyond the mere orthoepy, since the change in « pronunciation only » often altered and ruined the very soul of a « ṛg » — its *rhythm*! Hence comes Arnold's justified remark that even alone the indiscriminate

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kṣaipra-value of *y*, *v* turns the *Ṛg*veda into a « *padya-veda* » as far as its metrical value is concerned, not to speak of other values, which is bad enough!

But the SK is concerned with more than mere pronunciation: he wants — as already indicated — to produce a « *ṛg*-veda », as far as his traditional material permits, with as *few* as possible but *as many as required* changes, within rather broad limits of sense-preserving and even « improving » (according to *his* lights) — and to present to the *śiṣṭās* of *his* time a text worthy of the ṛṣis and of *his* cultured audience and *its* younger literary taste and standards. The very fact of the SK's systematic « updating » of the *whole* Ṛgveda text in function of *his* younger « vyākaraṇa », rough-shod trampling not only on the old one but, what is more, on the rg's *vital-essential metre and rhythm*, evidently proves that the SK *is not* and *will not be* a mere *echo*-transmitter (as the *post*-Saṃhitā tradition, exceptionally for India, did become as a sort of literary « tour de force »!) but an *editor-redactor* with *extra*-textual objectives and standards, *besides* and *beyond* and even *against* the *mere* literal fidelity, more in the line of the incorrigibly correcting-improving trends of the Mahābh.+Rāmāy. text-transmission — *the* typically Indian one, even in the age of manuscriptal handing down! Hence the transpositions, substitutions modifications and changes of all sorts that we observe in the three texts above — besides misinterpretations of the oral-auricular śruti! — are the natural result of *misguided care that loved its object only too well but disastrously unwisely*! Add to this (as already pointed out) that the SK was the *compiler-editor* of a *collection* of hymns (of traditionally conventionally repetitive themes and bards!) to be memorised with their treacherously memory-confusing similar+identical *pratīkas* and phraseology and often boring sameness (the decried « punar-ukti » of the « śiṣṭāḥ »!) — and you have all the ingredients that go to make a « Saṃhitā-*Palimpsest* » as typified by the above sample-texts, particularly with the aggravating circumstance of the SK's « salto mortale » from the *archaic* accent-quantity prosody to *his* own quantity-*only* classical one. And as for seeing parallelisms and possibilities of patching one text with shreds of another (as bits of one all-embracing śruti!!) — *that* is child's play for memorising virtuosi who had the *whole* Ṛgveda at their memory's finger-tips!

II. - CONFIRMATION FROM ALL SIMILAR CASES

With the above findings and principles in mind we can now proceed to give a full confirmation from all parallel cases noted by Grassmann concerning in particular the three key-words: « náraḥ, rátha- jána- » spread through the *whole* Ṛgveda and thereby showing that this prosodical factor, is part of the *basic* versifying system of the *ṛṣi-kavis* excep-

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tionally preserved as « ārṣa » by the palimpsesting SK, precisely because of the impossibility of effacing it, given the multiplicity of its occurrences, and in spite of his vidūṣaka-tricks to evade its *verse-wrecking* consequences from the angle of *his* quantity-only orthoepic prosody as against the kavis' archaic one, including accent and rhythmical length, besides other stylistic devices, especially *haplology*. The following are the texts, given with the accompanying conventional signs of the *archaic* features which the SK's « editorial dynamism » had to eliminate in order to achieve the « quantum leap » of *his* prosodical-linguistic *transposition*! This will be crowned by the *complete reconstruction* of the *two hymns* where our « shibboleth » stanza recurs in order to give proof palmary that our system and principles *do* work and apply *fully* and satisfactorily to *entire* textual-literary units as legitimate representatives of the *entire* Ṛgveda of the ṛṣi-kavis and *against* the SK's disfiguring-distorting Saṃhitā-*Palimpsest*, which *is* one!

V, 33, 5
a) vayáṃ *tay* indra *táva yá-+iva*(!) *näraḥ*
(vs. 3ab) (SK!) X+×SA(!)
b) śárdhaḥ jajñānáḥ *yaatáṃ sa-räthaṃ* (infra!) (SK!) RSA+
c) *á*+asmắn jagamyāḥ ahi-śuṣma *sá tváṃ*(!) (N.B.) (SK!) +S *
d) bhágaḥ ná *háv- yáḥ* prabhṛtháiṣu *āyáuḥ*(!)
(V, 41, 19d) (SK!) RHS+ *
(For 5d cf. III, 50, 2d+V, 33, 7d!+VII, 29, 3c)
VII, 30, 4
a) vayáṃ *tay* indra *táva yá-+iva*(!) *näraḥ*
(cf. supra) (SK!) S×+A
b) *śárdhaḥ jajñānáḥ yaatáṃ sa-räthaṃ* (supra!) (SK!) S+A
c) yácchā sūríbhyaḥ *utá nä- várūtham* (N.B.) (SK!) ×LH
d) *su-*ắbhúvaḥ jaraṇắṃ *c-+aśnavāma*(!) (N.B.) (SK!) R+IH *
(In 4ab SK for variety vs. V, 33, 5ab; cf. X, 32, 2b+65, 4cd)
cf. X, 32, 9
a) ait*áṃ naḥ* bhadrắ dádataḥ maghắni (N.B.) (SK!) X+S *
b) kalắśaṃ k*ü*ru-śravaṇa*ṃ* kriyā*ta*(!)
(cf. *c*!) (N.B.) (SK!) XA+(!) *
c) dắn*ä*ḥ ít vaḥ, maghavān*ä-*, *sá* astu (cf. *b*!) (SK!) LSH
d) ayáṃ ca sáumaḥ yáṃ hṛd*ï* bíbharmi (SK!) ×L *
+65, 4
c) prkṣắḥ iva maháyant*ä- s*u-rātáyaḥ (SK!) HL *
d) daiv*ắ- s*tavantai(!) mánuṣā*sa- sū*ráyaḥ (N.B.) (SK!) H+(!) *
(For V, 33, 5a+VII, 30, 4a above — cf.):
II, 19, 1
a) ápāy*i* asy*á* *á*ndhasaḥ mádāya (SK!) R
b) mánīṣiṇaḥ sv*aa*násya práyaḥ *yát*(!) (SK!) R+I
c) yásm*ï*n índraḥ pra-dívi vāvṛdhānáḥ +L
d) áukaḥ dadhái *daiva*yántaś ca *n*äraḥ(!) (N.B.) (SK!) SA(!)
(For 1d cf. 8c+Gr.+):

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I, 115, 2
c) yátrā náraḥ daivayántaḥ yugáni (N.B.) =
d) vi-tanvatái bhad*arấ* pr*ä*ti bhadrám (cf. G.) (SK!) ×R+A(!)
II, 19, 8
a) aivấ tai gṛtsa-mad*ấ- śū*ra mánm*ā* (SK!) (cf. *c*!) +A×I(!)
b) vayün*ā n*á *a*vasyávaḥ *ta*takṣuḥ(!) (N.B.) (SK!) +A×I(!)
c) brahmaṇyántaḥ ind*a*ra *tái* návīyaḥ (N.B.) (SK!) (cf. *a*!) R+
d) ū́rjäm íṣaṃ su-kṣitíṃ sumnám aśyuḥ (SK!) ×L
(There is *no un*redupl. *perf.* of « takṣ » — vs. Gr.!). Cf.:
X, 39, 4
a) yuváṃ cyávānaṃ sanáyaṃ *n*á rā*th- narā* (SK!) HIS(!)
b) púnar yúvānam caráthā*i*(!) *ta*takṣathuḥ (SK!) +I(!)
+III, 8, 6
a) yắn vaḥ náraḥ daivayántaḥ ni-mimyúḥ =
b) vánas-patai svádhitiḥ vā tatákṣa(!) (N.B.) =
+VI, 1, 2
c) táṃ tvā náraḥ prathamáṃ daivayántaḥ =
d) mah*ái r*a*ay-* citáyantä́ḥ ánu gman (N.B.) (SK!) H+RL
II, 34, 11
c) yatásrucaḥ híraṇya-varṇ*aa*n kak*uh-* (SK!) ×H(!)
d) brahmaṇyántaḥ śáṃs*i*yaṃ rắdhaḥ īmahai (N.B.) R
+I, 62, 3
a) índrasya *ca á*ṅgirasāṃ *ca iṣṭắ*u (SK!) IR(!)
b) dhāsíṃ sar*ä*mā tánay*āi vivai*da(!) (cf. *c*!) (SK!) ×A+S(!)
c) bṛ́has-pátiḥ bhinat ádriṃ vidát gāḥ (SK! vs. *b*!) =
d) sám usríyābhiḥ vāvásanta n*ä*raḥ(!) (SK!) SA(!)
+IV, 38, 9
a) utá sm*ā a*sya panayanti j*ä*nāḥ(!) (SK!) RA(!)
b) jūtíṃ kṛṣṭipráḥ abhí-bhūtim āśáuḥ =
+I, 89, 10
c) víśvai daivắḥ áditiḥ páñca j*ä*nāḥ(!) (SK!) A(!)
cf.
a) ád*ï*tiḥ(!) dyáuḥ áditiḥ antárikṣam (N.B. (SK!) L(!)
b) ád*ï*tiḥ(!) mātắ sá pitắ sá putráḥ (N.B.) (SK!) L(!)
d) ád*ï*tiḥ(!) jātáṃ áditiḥ janitvám (N.B.) (SK!) L(!)
+VI, 11, 4
c) ayúṃ ná yáṃ námasa rātá-havyāḥ =
d) añjánti su-prayásaṃ páñca j*ä*nāḥ(!) (SK!) A(!)
+51, 11
a) tái n*ä*ḥ *dyávā-* pṛthiví índr*a-+v*ardhan (SK!) ×HS(!)
b) pūṣắ bhágaḥ áditiḥ páñca j*ä*nāḥ(!) (SK!) A(!)
d) bhávantu naḥ su-tr*aa*trắḥ(!) su-gaupắḥ (SK!) +R(!)

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+II, 20, 2
a) *tu*váṃ naḥ indra ūtí*bhiḥ* tuvábhiḥ (N.B.) (SK!) R×+(!) *
b) abhiṣṭi-páḥ *tu*vāya*t- ā*si jänān(!) (N.B.) (SK!) ×HRLA(!)*
c) *tu*väm ináḥ d*aaś*úṣä-+*v*arūtá (SK!) RLH(!)
d) itthắ-dh*ii*ḥ yáḥ(!) abhi-nákṣati tvā (SK!) ×+R

+III, 46, 2
a) mahắn asi mahiṣa vṛṣṇ*i*yaibhiḥ R
b) dhana-spṛ́t ugra sáhamānaḥ anyắn =
c) áik*ä*-+*v*íśvasya bhúva*n- ä*si rájā (SK!) HIS(!)
d) sá yaudháyā ca kṣayáyā ca j*ä*nān(!) (SK!) A(!)

+VI, 10, 5
a) nú naḥ citráṃ puru-vắjābhiḥ ūtí- (N.B.) (SK!) HAR(!)
b) ágnai rayíṃ maghávadhbhy*a-+utá* dhaihi (SK!) +RA
c) yái rắdhasā śrávasā *c-+äti* anyắn (SK!) +H(!)
d) su-vīr*i*yāiḥ *ca abhi*-sánti j*ä*nān(!) (SK!) (cf. *c*!) H+I
(G.'s comment on 5cd wrong!!) — cf.:

VII, 16, 10
a) yái rắdhāṃs*i* áśv*i*yā d*ä*dat*ï* maghắ (SK!) RAL(!)
b) kắmaina śrávasaḥ mahắḥ =

N.B. — The kavis do *not* feel bound to use words like « jána- rátha-náraḥ » in a particular verse-position. This is evident from the way they can use them in any other metrically correct setting but it is particularly made clear by the freedom they — or the SK? — show in the employment of even composite phrases like « páñca jánāḥ » (cf. Gr.):

I, 89, 10
c) (cf. supra: pāda-*end*)

III, 59, 8
a) mitrắya páñca yaimirai (SK!) =(?)
b) jánāḥ abhíṣṭi-ś*ä*vasai (SK!) A(?)
c) daivắn víśvān bibharti sá (SK!) ×(?)
= a) mitr*āy- a*bhí-ṣṭi-ś*ä*vasai (SK!) XHA(!)
= *c) daivắn víśvān b*í*bharti yáḥ* (N.B.) (SK!) XAR(!)
= *b) yaimirái páñca j*ä*naa*ḥ(!) (N.B.) (SK!) +XS(!)
(This whole *unique hymn* — cf. G. — in its *3 parts* is a « shibboleth » of SK-palimpsesting, esp. in (I) 1acd+2abd(!)+3a; (II) 5(!)a(!)d+4(!)b; (III) 6abs(!+7abc+8abc+9abc(!) — Would-be-critic « jāgṛhi »! You stand or fall by *this* test!).

VI, 11, 4
a) (cf. supra: pāda-*end*)

VII, 51, 11
b) (cf. supra: pāda-*end*)

X, 45, 6
d) jánāḥ yát agním áyajanta páñca (N.B.) (SK!) (?)
= yát agníṃ á-yajanta páñca j*ä*nāḥ(!) (kavi vs. SK!) XA(!)
= yát páñca j*ä*nāḥ áyajant*a* agním (SK!) +HI(?)

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= yát páñca agním áyajanta jänāḥ (SK!) ×A(?)
= yát agníṃ páñca áyajanta jänāḥ (SK!) ×A(?)
!c) vīḍúṃ cit *s-+ádrim* abhinat parā-yán (SK!) ×R(?)

(The *kavis could* use *any alternative d*-form here; but *not* the SK! — For the SK only the *first* was « regular » — pāda-order *dc*!)

X, 53, 4
c) *úurja-ädaḥ* utá yajñiyāsaḥ (cf. 5b) (SK!) L(!)
d) páñcä janāḥ máma hautráṃ juṣadhvam (SK!) L(!)

X, 53, 5
a) páñcä jánāḥ máma hautráṃ juṣantām (SK!)
b) gáu-jāt*aaḥ* utá yái yajñíyāsaḥ (cf. 4*c*!) (SK!) R

VIII, 32, 22
b) ihí páñca jánān áti (SK!) (?)
= ihí páñc- áti jänaan(!) (SK!) ×ra(!)

IX, 92, 3
d) dhíräḥ ānu yatatai páñca jänān (SK!) ×LA(!)

The SK *has* to twist to try, if possible, to get *his* quantity-*only* rhythm vs. the kavis' ample choice with quantity+*accent* prosody! But they also had *conventional* trends, like *final* « jänāḥ+páñca jänāḥ », as above, especially the latter, mostly in spite of the SK's twists!

V, 33

1 a) máhï mahái nar -dīdhiyai tavä́sai(!) (N.B.) L×HRA(!)
b) índrāy-+*a*háṃ *távya*sa-+*i*tthā́ *á*tavyān (N.B.) ×RHI
c) yáḥ asmáai(!) samaríyaḥ cíkai*t*ta (N.B.) (cf. Gr.) SA×+(!)
d) jánāi(!) stutáḥ sumatíṃ vāja-sänim (cf. 7*d*!) (cf. Gr.) S+A(!)

cf. X, 91
15 c) asmái suvíraṃ rayíṃ vāja-sänim (SK!) ×A(!)
2 a) sá tvám naḥ indra dhiyasānáḥ arkäiḥ =
b) hárīṇaaṃ yáuktaraṃ vṛṣaṇ aśraiḥ (N.B.) +RLA(!)
c) itthā́ *yaa*ḥ maghavan änu jáuṣam (N.B.) +RA×(!)
d) vákṣäḥ abhí *aryá- sa*kṣi prá jänān(!) (N.B.) ×LHRA(!)
3 a) ná tái tay indra hára*y-+as*mát ädhi(!) (cf. c+5*a*!) ASH+×(!)
b) áyuktāsaḥ a-brahmátā *yáth-+ä*san (N.B.) ASR
c) *á- ti*ṣṭha táṃ rá*th-* ádhi vajra-hasta (cf. *a*!) (N.B.) +HI×
d) raśmïnā+iva *yämasay ā* suv-áśvam (N.B.) S+ARH×
4 a) purú yá ta*i* ind*a*ra sánti t*á ukth-* (N.B.) +RHI
b) urvärāsu gáu*ṣu ca*kartha yúdhyan (N.B.) ×+AH
!d) t*u*váṃ samátsu d*áa*sasya vädhaḥ(!) (N.B.) dSRA(!)
!c) tatákṣi*ṣ*ai *á*r*iyāy* áukasi svái (N.B.) S+R(!)

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5 a) vayáṃ t*ay* indra t*áva yá-+iva* näraḥ (SK: 3*a!*) ×A+(!)
b) śárdhaḥ jajñānáḥ y*aatắṃ* s*a-rätha*ṃ(!) (N.B.) +RA(!)
c) *á+asmắn* jagamyāḥ ahi-śuṣma *sá tvám*(!) (N.B.) +S(!) *
d) bhágaḥ na *háv- yáḥ* prabh*r*thấi*ṣu āyáuḥ*
(V, 41, 19b) (N.B.) +HISAd *
6 a) *pṛkṣáiṇiyam* ind*ara* tvái h*í* áujaḥ (N.B.) (SK!) SR+
b) ut*ä* nṛmṇáṃ nṛtama n*är* am*ṛ*ta(!) (N.B.) (SK!) ×SL+A(!)
c) sá áinīṃ ná vasa*v å- naḥ* rayíṃ dāḥ (SK!) +SHI
d) prá tai stuṣai tuvi-ma*gh- a*rya dắnam
(cf. Gr.) (N.B.) ×+I(!)
7 a) aiv*á i*ndra *uu*tibhiḥ naḥ *äva* (N.B.) RA×(?)
b) *utä* śūra gṛṇatáḥ pāhi kārún (N.B.) ×LHI
c) ut*ä* piprīhi s*u-s*utásya cárauḥ (cf. 5d) (N.B.) ×L
d) mádhvaḥ tvácaṃ dádat*a- v*ắja-sātāu (cf. 1*cd*!) (N.B.) ×H(!)
8 a) utá tyái pāuru-kuts*i*yásya sūráiḥ dR
b) tras*ä*-dasyauḥ hiraṇínaḥ rárāṇāḥ L
c) dáśa śyáitāsaḥ mā vahant*u* áśvāḥ(!) (SK!) (cf. G.) ×LR+
(V, 41, 19d) (N.B.) +HISAd
d) gāiri-kṣitásya krátubhiḥ nú saścai =
9 a) utá tyái mā mārutá+aśvasya śáuṇāḥ(!) (cf. 8*c*!) =
b) krátvā-maghāsaḥ vidáthasya rātắu =
c) sahásr*a- m*ai cyávatānaḥ dádānaḥ (N.B.) +H
d) ānūkám aryáḥ vápuṣai n*á ārcat* R
10 a) utá tyái mā dh*u*van*íy*asya júṣṭāḥ (cf. 8*c*!) R
b) su-r*ücaḥ ca* lakṣman*íyas- yá*tānāḥ(!) (N.B.) IHA 2
c) mahnắ rāyáḥ saṃváraṇasya *ṛ*ṣaiḥ RA(!)
d) vraj*äm* ápi gman prá-yatāḥ ná gắvaḥ (SK!) XL

(For special samples of accent+rhythm-value+archaism cf.: 1ad+2bcd+3abcd+4ac+5ab+6b+7abc+10bcd).

VII, 30

1 a) á naḥ *patai śavasaḥ indra* yāhi (SK!) S+×(!)
*c) mahái nṛmṇắya n*r-maṇä- s*u-vajra (SK!) SL
*b) bhávā vṛdhắḥ r*aayá- śuṣm*in* asyá (SK!) ×RH+(!)
d) mahá*i* k*s*atrắya śūra pắum*siyāi ca* (SK!) R×I+
2 a) t*uv*ắṃ havantai hávi*y*aṃ ví-vāci (cf. Co.) (SK!) +R×d(!)
b) śūrắḥ tanū*nāṃ súuraś ca* sātắu (N.B.) (SK!) S+RI
c) t*uv*ắṃ víśvaiṣu sáin*iy*aḥ jánaiṣu R
d) t*uv*ắṃ vṛtrā randhayā *nä- s*u-hántū (SK!) S+×HL
3 a) áhā yát indra sudínā v*i*-ucchắn R
b) dádhaḥ yát kaitúm upamắṃ samátsu =
c) n*í* agn*í*- sīdat ásuraḥ ná háutā (N.B.) (SK!) (cf. G.) HR(!)
d) huvānáḥ átra *yajáth*āya daivắn (SK vs. kavi!) +(!)

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(3d=SK's *var.* vs. VII, 11, 3+17, 3=h.l.!)

4 a) vayáṃ tay indra *táva yá+iva* näraḥ (c. V, 33, 5) S×+
b) śárdhaḥ jajñānā́ḥ *yáatāṃ* sa-*rätha*ṃ (X, 32, 9b) SR+A(!)
c) yácchā sūríbhyaḥ *utá nä- v*árūtham (N.B.) (SK!) SL+(!)
d) *su*-ābhúvaḥ jaraṇā́m *c*-+aśnavā*ma*(!) (N.B.) (SK!) ×R *

(For 4b cf. X, 65, 4d+32, 9b=SK!)

5 a) vaucáim*a* índraṃ maghávānam ainam(!) (cf. *bc*!) ×R(?)
= ain*áṃ* vauc*ai*ma maghávānam ī́nd*ar*- (SK!) ×+HR(!)
b) maháḥ r*aay*- r*áa*dh*aḥ sä*(!) dád*ä*- *n*aḥ (SK!) SHR+L(!)
c) yáḥ(!) *á*rcataḥ bráhma-kṛtïm áviṣṭhaḥ (SK!) HIL(!)
d) yūyaṃ *daivāḥ* pā*t*-+*abhístī* sádā naḥ (N.B.) (SK!) SI+H(!)

(For special samples, as in V, 33, cf.: 1abcd+4abc+5abd(!) — Would-be-critic, « jāgṛhi »!).

III. - RESULTS

The *chief result* of tha above study is the fact of the prosodical *accent-value as equivalently long*. The *archaic metrical prosody* had a whole series of *factors*: *number* of syllables, *rhythm*-pattern, *yati* or yati-*like position*, archaic *saṃdhi*-system, words and *forms*, *accent* (actual or potential) and, syllable-*quantity* (in the traditional sense). Of all these, the SK has at his unchanged disposal — besides the *main* rhythm pattern — *only* (like the *post*-vedic prosody) *quantity*, while having practically *lost* also another wide-ranging and (for him) disturbing factor: *haplology*. This is a problem not of his own making but born of the linguistic-philological evolution. His « vidūṣaka-paṇḍitry » is rooted not in his (well-meant) « intentions » or on any ignorance of *his own* language-stage, but in his naive presumption that *he* can do justice to his « salto mortale » *transposition with quantity alone as rhythm-builder* within a vastly younger+different cast-iron saṃdhi-system and language-stage. No wonder his product is (as it was bound to be) so palimpsestingly catastrophical for his « dynamic editorialism », sitting between the *two incompatible stools* of *preservation* and *reformation* of a hymn-*collection*, as described further up. Hence the « *rule of thumb* » for a ṛgvedic text-critic (who is aware of the SK's *all-pervading* « love's labour lost! ») is: try to build, with the SK's wording, verses that are *perfectly rhythmical, sense-making and idiomatic, but archaic* (that is, of a type that the SK, with *his* vyākaraṇa and saṃdhis and vocabulary, could not possibly stomach), then scrutinise the parallels — and you are on the right way (if not already there!) to the ṛṣi-kavis own text *behind* the Saṃhitā-*Palimpsest*. In our texts above, on the right-hand margin, we give the *symbols* of the *re-archaisation* steps *demanded* by the SK's frantic efforts to dodge the (for him) unbearable offences against *his* vyākaraṇa and other « editorial » preconceptions which for

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him (as a *later* « śiṣṭa ») are inviolably sacrosanct. And how shrewdly acrobatic those dodges often are — but how vidūṣaka-like vis-à-vis of the ṛṣi-kavis' own genuine words! Just tinsel vs. gold!

(Here we would like to honour our late guru, Prof. Dr. W. Schulze, who, with his « Quaestiones Epicae », inspired us, he, the successful pioneer of a similar *text-critical re-archaisation of Homer's archaic epic verses*, showing that « *non dormitat Homerus* ». — « *ná u* muhyanti *ṛ́ṣayaḥ* ». — « námaḥ gurúbhyaḥ »!).

The *total convergent and mutually supporting* witness of the texts above from the *whole* Ṛgveda is ample proof positive that points to *the one SK-agency* as the palimpsesting source of the « traditional » Saṃhitā-text. The ideal would be to have the Saṃhitā-version side by side for comparison, but for obvious editorial reasons, that task will have to be left to the interested reader with the aid of our transcript which indicates all the *non*-Saṃhitā details.

As for *special text-critical results*, we can point out — besides the two « shibboleth » stanzas (which fairly bristle with « new »-archaic readings) *and* the two riddle test-texts, X, 32, 9ab+I, 141, 8 (for would-be-critics!) the texts: X, 65, 4d+II, 19, 1b+I, 115, 2d+II, 19, 8ab+X, 39, 4b+VI, 1, 2d+II, 34, 11cd+I, 62, 3ab+VI, 51, 11acd+II, 20, 2ab+III, 59, 8+X, 45, 6d!+X, 53, 4c+5a — hence practically in *every* text examined, and that not only in the mere *scanning* of the verses, but also in their contents and sense. (Hence neo-lexicographer « jāgṛhi »!). The above *de*palimpsested text-form is the *ṛṣi-kavis' own* on the *whole* and in *essentials*, at times in *all* details too, but in other cases it is open to further improvement in the light of eventual new parallel or convergent factors rediscovered — yet *always along the same method and principles here advocated*! We are constantly seeking *and* finding such new aids in a deeper and more comprehensive insight into the SK's multi-faceted and multi-layered « method-in-madness and madness-in-method ». The *asterisk*-marked texts (above) indicate our *new* findings, which are also in the process of publication.

And we urgently request the constructive cooperation of all earnest *and* competent ṛgvedic scholars *and* text-critical specialists. It is a glorious task, both facilitated and hindered by the SK's palimpsested bamboo-curtain of *his* Saṃhitā-text — *behind* and *through* and *beyond* which shimmers *the* radiant « darśana » of the long-suffering ṛṣi-kavis' own *UR*-Ṛgveda « śivā́ḥ santu pánthāḥ »!

APPENDIX

For a token-specimen of the *text-critical progress* possible *and* actual we reproduce our « shibboleth »-texts (*supra*) in the *definitive* form attained since the above essay was given to the press, while time and other editorial and technical considerations prevent us, to our regret, from doing it *here*.

V, 33, 5

a) vayáṃ t*ay* indra t*áva* y*á*-+*iv*a närah (N.B.) (SK!) ×+SHA(!)

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b) śárdhāḥ jajñānā́ḥ *yaatā́ṃ sa-rätham* (N.B.) (SK!) S+RIA(!)
c) *sá tváṃ* naḥ *ä*hi-śuṣm*a ā́* jagamyā*ḥ* (N.B.) (SK!) ×S+RA(!)
d) *pitūḥ* ná *nā́ma* prabhṛth*ái-+su-*hävaḥ (N.B.) (SK!) (i)∀HS×

VII, 30, 4
a) vayáṃ t*ay* indra t*áva* y*á-+iva näraḥ* (SK!) S+HA(!)
b) *śárdhaḥ jajñānā́ḥ yaatā́ṃ sa-rätham* (N.B.) (SK!) S+RIA(!)
c) yácchā sūríbhyaḥ ut*á nä-+v*árūtham (N.B.) (SK!) HS+L(!)
d) *ā́-+*j*ä*raṇā́ṃ s*u*-ābh*úv-+aś*nav*āma* (N.B.) (SK!) R×IH+L(!)

X, 65, 4
a) s*ú*var-ṇaram antárikṣ*ā+ut-+á*rauc*ayan* (N.B.) (SK!) RS+HS(!)
b) dyā́vā-bhū́mī áujasā cāsk*abh*úḥ *ca yái* (N.B.) (SK!) d+×I(!)
c) *tá-+ivä* pṛkṣā́ḥ maháyant*ä-+s*u-rātáyaḥ (N.B.) (SK!) ×LHI(!)
d) daiv*ā́-+s*tavantai mánuṣās*a-+s*ūráyaḥ (N.B.) (SK!) +H(!)

X, 32, 9
a) ait*áṃ naḥ* k*ü*ru-śravaṇam kriyā*t*a (N.B.) (SK!) +SIA(!)
b) kal*ä*śaṃ bhadrā́ dádataḥ maghā́ni (N.B.) (SK!) ×A(!)
c) dān*ä*h it vaḥ maghavān*ä-+s*á astu (SK!) LH
d) ayáṃ ca sáumaḥ hṛ*tsú* yáṃ bibh*r*m*á*h (N.B.) (SK!) +L(!)

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J. FILLIOZAT

LES LITTÉRATURES SANSKRITE ET TAMOULE DANS LA CULTURE INDIENNE

Les premières informations importantes et correctes que les Européens aient obtenues sur la culture de l'Inde ont été fournies par des dravidiens. Par ceux du Kerala où les Portugais se sont d'abord établis, ainsi que ceux de l'Andhra et du Coromandel, où le hollandais Abraham Roger a recueilli la matière de sa célèbre *Porte ouverte pour parvenir à la connaissance du paganisme caché* (*De open deure tot het verborgen heidendom*), parue à Leiden en 1651 et bientôt traduite en plusieurs langues. Mais une première connaissance de l'Inde est surtout du cœur du pays tamoul, de Madurai, et de tout le royaume de l'Extrême-Sud auquel on donnait le nom de sa capitale.

Comme j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de le rappeler ici en 1973, dans le Madurai ont œuvré plusieurs savants jésuites au premier rang desquels ont été Roberto de Nobili, de Montepulciano, et Costante Giuseppe Beschi. Tous deux ont appris la langue tamoule et pénétré par elle la culture générale indienne. Nobili s'est en outre illustré aussi par ses études et ses propres compositions en sanskrit et en telugu. Quant à Beschi, non seulement son œuvre grammaticale et lexicographique tamoule est restée classique et nous sert toujours mais encore son grand poème tamoul en l'honneur de son patron San Giuseppe, le *Tēmpāvaṇi*, la « Guirlande qui ne fane pas », l'a placé parmi les premiers poètes de son temps dans l'Inde du Sud.

De leur côté les missionnaires luthériens, danois et allemands, de Tranquebar, à commencer par Ziegenbalg et Schulze ont publié à partir de sources tamoules quantité d'observations sur les croyances, les pratiques et l'enseignement du même pays. C'est de là que l'Encyclopédie de Diderot et d'Alembert a tiré presque tout ce qu'elle a publié sur l'Inde.

Le sanskrit cependant n'était pas oublié. On sait que Filippo Sassetti, marchand florentin, l'avait appris à la fin du XVIe siècle. Il a fait les premières remarques sur des similitudes de mots sanskrits et latins. Au début du XVIIIe siècle, le jésuite Pons, au Bengale, a su donner les

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caractéristiques essentielles des six *darśana* de la philosophie indienne classique en sanskrit. En outre, il a rédigé une grammaire sanskrite et une traduction latine de l'*Amarakośa*, lesquelles devaient servir au début du XIXe siècle, à Paris, à initier les premiers indianistes européens. Mais, jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, ce furent surtout les grammaires et les dictionnaires tamouls qui furent fidèles et utiles.

C'est seulement tout à fait à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, avec la Société Asiatique de Calcutta, les Wilkins, les William Jones, les Colebrooke et bien d'autres, et grâce au concours indispensable des pandits de Calcutta, que la philologie sanskrite a commencé d'exister pour l'Occident. Dès lors, l'étude des sources tamoules, tout en se poursuivant, a passé au second plan et la plupart des indianistes s'en sont désintéressés. Or, aujourd'hui, nous ne pouvons ignorer que le rôle des Tamouls a été considérable dans la culture indienne et dans sa propagation à l'étranger. Nous nous sommes déjà entretenus en 1973 à ce propos de la place des études tamoules dans l'indologie mais depuis lors, des travaux importants et nouveaux ont été publiés ou entrepris. Le problème des rapports entre les littératures sanskrite et tamoule apparaît de plus en plus nécessaire à étudier.

Malheureusement, deux obstacles entravent son étude. Le premier est dû à la spécialisation, devenue dans tous les domaines indispensable, mais restrictive. L'obligation d'un approfondissement des recherches dans chacune des deux littératures porte les chercheurs à limiter leurs efforts en étendue et à choisir la maîtrise en l'une ou en l'autre, faute de pouvoir l'atteindre plénière en les deux.

Un second obstacle est dû à une autre spécialisation, non scientifique cette fois. Celle, fréquente dans le monde entier de nos jours, d'un sentiment jaloux d'identité nationale. Parce qu'il est national, ce sentiment ne devrait, dans l'Inde, se manifester que chez les Indiens soit du Nord, soit du Sud, quand ils veulent croire permanent jusqu'à notre époque un antagonisme entre aryen et dravidien, qui n'appartient en réalité, qu'à la préhistoire linguistique. Mais les savants étrangers peuvent aussi parfois suivre les opinions nationales de leurs informateurs et amis indiens et se spécialiser malencontreusement.

Ces obstacles relèvent, en fait, de l'ignorance ou de l'inégalité des connaissances des cultures en question. Ils ne peuvent donc être levés que par une double investigation, plus complète à la fois sur le détail et sur l'ensemble de la réalité. Pareille investigation exigera de plus en plus le concours de spécialistes qui ne pourront pas tous travailler personnellement dans les deux domaines, mais devront être mutuellement attentifs aux résultats les uns des autres.

En attendant, nous pouvons déjà constater et apprécier les résultats obtenus et envisager des directions de recherches qui s'imposent sur les relations entre les littératures sanskrite et tamoule.

Dès 1971, le Professeur Siegfried Lienhard a commencé à publier une série d'observations (en dernier lieu ici dans *Indologica Taurinensia*,

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vol. V) sur les similitudes qui existent à la fois entre les formes et entre les thèmes des poésies profanes qui s'expriment soit en tamoul, soit en sanskrit dans des stances détachées.

Ce genre de poésie est très abondant en sanskrit et plus encore en tamoul si, comme l'a fait le Prof. Kamil Zvelebil dans une de ses dernières études d'ensemble sur a littérature tamoule[1], on rattache au type de la « stance solitaire » toute la poèsie classique des deux grandes anthologies du Sangam: le *Kuṟuntokai*, où sont groupés les poèmes de quatre à neuf lignes, et le *Naṟṟiṇai* qui contient ceux de neuf à douze lignes.

Les similitudes se présentent entre les thèmes utilisés de part et d'autre pour l'évocation des sentiments, et essentiellement de l'amour. Les thèmes qui sont similaires le sont d'abord par la banale nature des choses, mais ils le sont aussi par des traits si particuliers qu'il est difficile de croire que le hasard seul a pu les associer parallèlement dans les deux traditions littéraires autonomes du tamoul et du sanskrit. Or c'est en tamoul que les thèmes en question et leurs traits particuliers ont été à la fois employés le plus largement dans la poésie et codifiés dans le *Tolkāppiyam*. La date précise de cet ouvrage n'est pas établie mais il est le seul manuel ancien dans l'Inde qui traite à la fois de la grammaire et de la poétique. Sa grammaire étant parfaitement adaptée au tamoul est forcément originale par rapport à la grammaire sanskrite, même si sa teneur atteste que cette dernière était connue de l'auteur.

La poétique enseignée par le *Tolkāppiyam*, dont le nom veut dire: « Ce qui se rapporte aux anciens poèmes », est également originale. Elle prétend enseigner le bon usage des anciens et elle établit un lien classique entre la nature et les sentiments qu'elle inspire ou qui sont censés s'associer particulièrement avec les divers terroirs du pays (montagne, forêt, plaine cultivée, littoral marin et terres arides). En même temps elle lie ces sentiments, ou du moins leur intensité majeure, à des saisons particulières et à des moments particuliers du jour et de la nuit. Par exemple l'union des amants se place par excellence dans la montagne, de la mi-octobre à la mi-décembre et au milieu de la nuit (Tol. II, 6), leurs querelles dans la plaine, à la fin de la nuit (sans que la saison soit indiquée, Tol. III, 8), le chagrin de leur séparation dans le pays aride, en saison chaude, à midi (Tol. III, 9).

Or des concomitances du même genre se retrouvent exprimées dans les littératures prâkrite et sanskrite, notamment dans la *Sattasaī* de Hāla, le *Ṛtusaṃhāra* et le *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*. Hāla est réputé être un roi Sātavāhana, écrivant en prâkrit au IIe siècle de notre ère, dans l'Andhra proche du pays tamoul où plusieurs prâkrits étaient utilisés concurremment avec le tamoul même, car nombre de mots indo-aryens, empruntés par le tamoul de la même période, l'ont été sous une forme prâkrite,

1. *A History of Indian literature*, edited by Jan Gonda, vol. X, fasc. 1, « Tamil literature », Wiesbaden, 1974.

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pendant que d'autres étaient tirés du sanskrit. Les communications étaient d'ailleurs permanentes, bien avant cette période des débuts de notre ère, entre le monde indo-aryen et le dravidien. Leurs littératures, surtout leurs compositions poétiques brèves, pouvaient s'influencer réciproquement et c'est du côté tamoul que le classicisme des thèmes est le plus nettement attesté.

Nous pouvons même observer que dans la poésie indo-aryenne, certains détails apparaissent comme propres sinon au seul pays tamoul, du moins au Sud de la péninsule. C'est ainsi que lorsqu'en décrivant la marche sous le Soleil d'été à midi, on indique que l'homme avance dans l'ombre de sa coiffure, la scène se passe nécessairement au Sud du Tropique du Cancer et non dans une latitude élevée du Nord de l'Inde où le soleil ne peut jamais passer au zénith. Un autre détail, au contraire, semblerait indiquer que le *Tolkāppiyam* lui-même se référait parfois au Nord de l'Inde. En effet, deux traductions anglaises, pourtant dues à des Indiens, rendent par « season of late snow »[2] ou « later part of the snow-season »[3] le terme *piṉpaṉi* (Tol. III, 10), or il ne tombe pas de neige au pays tamoul. Mais en fait, il s'agit de la saison de la rosée matinale très abondante de la période allant du milieu de février à celui d'avril et souvent les tamouls qui ne connaissent pas vraiment le neige emploient anglais « snow » pour toute chose naturelle froide.

Quoiqu'il en soit, les traités sanskrits et tamouls ont, les uns et les autres, finalement apparié leurs classifications des poèmes et ils l'ont fait dans les mêmes termes.

La distinction entre la stance détachée ayant un sens complet en elle-même et le groupe de strophes nécessaires pour former un tel sens n'est pas explicite dans le *Tolkāppiyam* mais elle se trouve ultérieurement dans les deux traités de poétique attribués au même Daṇḍin, l'un en sanskrit, le *Kāvyādarśa* « Miroir des poèmes », l'autre en tamoul, appelé simplement *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*, « Poétique de Daṇḍin ». La stance détachée est en sanskrit *muktaka* (Kāv. I, 13), en tamoul *muttakam* (T. 2), le groupe unitaire de strophes est en sanskrit *kulaka* et en tamoul *kuḷakam* (T. 3). *Muttakam* est une forme prâkrite, *kuḷakam* est sanskrit, *la* étant noté comme il est fréquent par la rétroflexe correspondante. Pour *muttakam* on emploie aussi l'expression tamoul équivalente: *taṉippāṭṭu* ou *taṉippāṭal*.

Il n'est nullement certain que les deux textes soient réellement du même auteur, Daṇḍin. On a opposé à l'opinion qui fait de celui-ci un *ubhayakavi*, c'est à dire un « poète dans les deux (langues) » que la version tamoule ne serait qu'une traduction de l'original sanskrit. Mais ce n'est pas exact. Les deux textes expriment évidemment les mêmes vues générales d'analyse et de classification, mais ils sont adaptés à des

2. R. Vasudeva Sarma, *Tolkappiam (Porulatikaram)*, Trichinopoly, 1933, p. 28.
3. Prof. S. Ilakkuvanar, *Tholkāppiyam (in English)*, Madurai, 1963, p. 154.

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formes poétiques différentes: les exemples qui illustrent les règles sanskrites ne peuvent illustrer en même temps les tamoules correspondantes or le *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* est destiné à régir la poétique tamoule non à expliquer en tamoul celle du sanskrit. Il existe par ailleurs des traductions du *Kāvyādarśa*, l'une en tibétain, l'autre en allemand par Böhtlingk mais ce sont de vraies traductions littérales et, comme telles, elles ne sont évidemment pas en même temps des manuels de poétique tibétaine ou allemande. Le *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*, lui, est composé d'exemples originaux comme le sont de leur côté ceux du *Kāvyādarśa*. Il est donc possible que les deux œuvres aient été faites par le même auteur doublement expert. Le fait que Daṇḍin passe pour un homme du Sud, fils d'un Ampikāpati, çivaïte, pourrait être en faveur de cette opinion. Certains le placent aussi à la cour du roi Bhoja de Dhārā donc au XIe siècle alors qu'il semble qu'il soit cité comme autorité dès le VIIIe siècle, selon Jacobi [4]. En tout cas il faut admettre comme le fait le Professeur Botto, qu'en réalité nous ne savons rien de sa vie.

Mais ce qui importe c'est la constatation de l'interpénétration des vues littéraires des auteurs sanskrits et tamouls en dépit de la grande différence fondamentale de leurs langues. Certainement l'existence simultanée du *Kāvyādarśa* et du *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*, qu'ils soient ou non les œuvres d'un même auteur ou les produits d'une même époque, illustre bien l'intégration des deux cultures littéraires principales de l'Inde ancienne. Principales, car, s'agissant de belles-lettres, seule la littérature tamoule offre un ensemble comparable à celui des belles-lettres sanskrites. En effet, la grande masse des littératures en pāli ou en ardhamāgadhī est essentiellement religieuse.

Il y a donc une composante tamoule ancienne dans la culture générale indienne dont le sanskrit a été l'instrument d'unification et de diffusion jusque bien loin en dehors de l'Inde. Seul, parmi les langues indiennes autres que le sanskrit, le tamoul possède les enseignements d'une culture complète. Le pâli et les prâkrits ont bien comme le sanskrit leurs livres de grammaire, ils n'ont pas comme le sanskrit et le tamoul d'ouvrages fondamentaux d'enseignement pour toutes les sciences et tous les domaines à la fois. Les autres langues ne s'en procurent que de nos jours et, pour les écoles traditionnelles, se bornent souvent à rééditer les manuels sanskrits avec un commentaire littéral moderne. D'autre part, seul le sanskrit a été une langue de liaison entre les diverses régions de l'Inde et avec l'étranger pour des relations générales. Ces relations n'ont pas été seulement religieuses ou scientifiques, elles ont été pratiques, parce qu'on ne disposait nulle part d'aucune autre langue qui soit partout présente dans des écoles similaires et qui puisse dispenser, comme l'anglais aujourd'hui, de l'étude des multiples langues de l'Inde et de l'Asie du Sud-Est. C'est pourquoi, aux mêmes époques où, en Inde, les langues dérivées des prâkrits et apabhraṃśa, et même les langues dravidiennes, sanskritisaient largement leurs vocabulaires, à ces mêmes

4. ZDMG, 64, 1910, p. 138 et suiv.

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époques les langues de la Péninsule indochinoise et de l'Indonésie sanskritisaient aussi leurs parlers courants, comme le montre la conservation d'une foule de mots sanskrits dans le thai, le khmer ou l'indonésien d'aujourd'hui.

Le pays tamoul, lui, a disposé de deux enseignements complets à la fois, le sanskrit qu'il a adopté et le sien propre, mais c'est le sanskrit seulement qu'il a propagé hors de ses territoires par les groupes qu'il a souvent établis en Extrême-Orient. En Inde même c'est en sanskrit qu'ont publié leurs œuvres les Śaṅkara et les Rāmānuja.

Nous avons vu qu'une influence du clacissisme littéraire tamoul s'était exercée sur la poésie indo-aryenne des stances détachées, mais l'unification et la diffusion des modes littéraires par l'éducation sanskrite nous empêchera souvent de discerner dans sa masse culturelle centralisatrice les apports spécifiques des divers peuples. Cependant, nous devrons toujours songer que la tradition tamoule, par son caractère encyclopédique, sa cohésion, sa vigueur et sa familiarité avec la tradition sanskrite, a pu porter en cette masse commune une composante plus consistante que celles venant des pays qui, produisant peu ou tardivement pour eux-mêmes, ont confié longtemps toute leur culture générale au seul sanskrit.

Nous devons donc et devrons dans l'avenir de plus en plus tenir compte de la littérature tamoule et la confronter avec la sanskrite qu'elle complètera pour une connaissance plénière de la culture indienne.

Nous ne pouvons ici, aujourd'hui, qu'évoquer quelques exemples et présenter quelques remarques.

Si nous revenons d'abord au problème de l'influence tamoule sur des thèmes classiques des littératures prâkrite et sanskrite profanes, nous avons à constater que le goût pour ces thèmes, lorsqu'ils sont apparus dans les poèmes du Sangam tamoul, s'accordait déjà à un goût général et très ancien pour les aphorismes, les sentences et les citations, pour les « choses bien dites », les « *subhāṣita* ». Les « hymnes », comme nous disons, du Veda, étaient pour les Indiens des *sūkta*, eux aussi « des choses bien dites ». Or l'usage s'est établi, dès l'époque védique elle-même, d'en traiter bien des parties en stances détachées et leur forme s'y prêtait souvent. C'est ce que nous voyons en trouvant un grand nombre de stances ṛgvédiques tirées de leurs séquences primitives et reprises en réemploi dans le *Sāmaveda* et l'*Atharvaveda*, avant d'être l'objet d'innombrables citations et utilisations dans toute la littérature brâhmanique.

Sans doute s'agissait-il de textes sacrés, qu'on retenait, et qu'on retient partiellement encore, pour des emplois rituels. Mais c'étaient aussi les textes de base du savoir général, en particulier du savoir sur la nature, sur le cosmos et aussi sur le microcosme que représentait l'être individuel. Le Veda, devait, avec le *Yajurveda* riche en formules isolables, rester le trésor des assertions de vérité. En même temps la forme pédagogique de l'enseignement brâhmanique, long, rigoureux et

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efficacement mémorisé, devait permettre à toute la classe instruite une conservation exceptionnelle et exacte de toutes « choses bien dites ».

Or la pédagogie indienne s'est appliquée à tout l'enseignement classique, d'abord et nécessairement, grammatical, mais aussi de logique et littéraire général, en dehors des enseignements techniques spécialisés qui s'y ajoutaient. La même pédagogie s'est aussi appliquée partout dans les territoires indiens, voire à l'étranger dans les milieux porteurs des religions et du savoir indien. Sa langue véhiculaire a été le sanskrit, mais non toujours et partout exclusivement. La culture tamoule l'a utilisée parallèlement et concurremment, de même au moins pour un temps la culture prâkrite des Jain. Les pays kannaḍa, telugu et malayali, les milieux pâlisants de Sri Lanka, du pays môn et de toute l'Indochine occidentale ont développé avec les mêmes méthodes leurs grammaires et leurs lexicographies. De même encore les Tibétains ont adapté l'enseignement de leur langue aux procédés indiens. Partout le développement de la mémoire par ces procédés s'est imposé.

Certes, l'éducation n'a été ainsi donnée qu'à une minorité de la population, mais cette minorité a été un modèle, même pour les illettrés. Dans toute la civilisation indienne la transmission orale du savoir prestigieux a toujours atteint le peuple tout entier. C'est parce qu'elle a d'abord nourri son propre peuple de contes, de légendes et de *subhāṣita*, ces derniers étant invariablement présents dans tous les contes et toutes les légendes, que l'Inde a propagé dans toute l'Asie orientale sa poésie gnomique, gigantesque et omnipénétrante, poésie qu'édite aujourd'hui, en nous en montrant toute la portée intérieure et extérieure, le Professeur Ludwik Sternbach.

C'est aussi pourquoi les contes de l'Inde ont envahi l'Europe médiévale aussi bien que la Chine.

C'est enfin ce qui nous explique aujourd'hui que tant d'Indiens qui ont fait des études sanskrites ou tamoules nous surprennent au premier abord par l'étendue et la précision de leur mémoire et aussi que tant d'illettrés indiens sachent citer tant de sentences gnomiques ou simplement tant de plaisants clichés.

Il est d'autres remarques que nous pouvons encore faire.

Tout d'abord nous rappellerons des faits bien connus, mais qui attendent encore des investigations détaillées. On sait que, parallèlement aux textes sanskrits des Āgama ou Tantra qui règlent la pratique religieuse çivaïte en Inde et en Asie du Sud-Est depuis l'Antiquité, ou au moins les premiers siècles de notre ère, est développée en tamoul toute la littérature dite du *Śaivasiddhānta*. Celle-ci est généralement étudiée à part. L'étude simultanée des deux courants qui souvent se mêlent, s'imposera de plus en plus.

On sait aussi que certaines grandes œuvres de la littérature tamoule, telles que le *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, sont d'inspiration religieuse jaina et présentent même une contrepartie en sanskrit qui n'a pas été l'objet d'étude. De plus les ouvrages jaina dits « tantriques », c'est à dire les manuels

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de pratique religieuse, analogues chez les Jaina actuels du Sud de l'Inde à ceux des Āgama çivaïtes, ne sont pas encore rassemblés et dépouillés.

On s'intéresse par contre, et à juste titre, au rôle du tamoul dans le développement général de la dévotion ou *bhakti*. Le Professeur Zvelebil vient de faire paraître un travail sur les commencements de ce mouvement dans le Sud de l'Inde[5]. A cet égard nous mentionnerons seulement d'une part que le caractère de sauveur qu'a le Dieu jeune par excellence, Kumāra ou Sanatkumāra en sanskrit, Murukaṉ en tamoul, est déjà attesté dans la *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*. Nous dirons d'autre part que la dévotion vishnouite remonte au Ṛgveda, où, même si le nom de *bhakti* qui s'y trouve (VIII, 27, II) ne l'exprime pas encore, elle existe dans l'ivresse que connaissent en son séjour suprême ceux qui sont unis à Viṣṇu (I, 154, 5. Elle est en tout cas attestée dans le *Mahābhāṣya* de Patañjali, dans les inscriptions des Indo-Grecs au Nord-Ouest de l'Inde, et impliquée par une monnaie d'Agathoklès datant d'environ 170 avant J.C.[6].

Elle est attestée aussi à Mathurā par des pièces archéologiques et plus tard par une abondante littérature. Mais elle a été éclipsée là par le bouddhisme dans les premiers siècles de notre ère et sans doute par les invasions des Indo-Scythes et des Huns, puis des Turcs. Cependant, elle avait auparavant été propagée dans l'Inde du Sud où elle s'est perpétuée et d'où elle est partie conquérir l'Andhra, l'Orissa et le Bengale à l'Est et reconquérir les lieux saints des bords de la Yamunā dont la littérature tamoule dévote avait très bien preservé et exalté le souvenir.

Dans ce domaine de la dévotion vishnouite la part des Tamouls a été particulièrement bien intégrée à celles des autres peuples, en sanskrit et en d'autres langues, à commencer par le telugu. Des œuvres de plusieurs des saints vishnouites, Periyāḻvār, Āṇṭāḷ et Nammāḻvār ont été traduites en sanskrit et c'est celle de Nammāḻvār qui avait inspiré Rāmānuja L'association des traditions sanskrite et tamoule en ce domaine a été si étroite qu'elle a donné lieu pour l'exégèse des textes à toute une littérature en *maṇippiravāḷam* c'est à dire en un langage où se mêlent indifféremment les vocabulaires et même les morphologies du sanskrit et du tamoul, exigeant la maîtrise simultanée des deux langues.

Enfin nous nous arrêterons un instant à un problème nouveau.

On connaît, d'une manière généralement vague, d'une part dans le Nord de l'Inde d'autre part au pays tamoul des personnages dont on identifie bien et à juste titre, la désignation sanskrite *siddha* et la tamoule *cittar* qui ne sont qu'un même mot sanskrit voulant dire « parfait ». Ces « parfaits » sont caractèrisés par ce qu'ils sont censés atteindre, par les exercices psychologiques et psychosomatiques du yoga, par l'alchimie et la magie, soit des pouvoirs merveilleux, tels que de

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5. *The beginnings of* bhakti *in South India*, Temenos, vol. 13, 1977, pp. 223-57.

6. J. Filliozat, *Représentations de Vāsudeva et Saṃkarṣaṇa au IIe siècle avant J.C.*, in « Art Asiatiques », XXVI, 1973, pp. 113-23. Sur Viṣṇu dans le Veda, cf. *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 74e année, résumé des cours de 1973-74, p. 437 et suiv.

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lévitation, soit la délivrance de ce monde et la béatitude définitive. Peu de travaux détaillés les concernent ou n'en concernent que quelques uns isolément. On les rattache dans le Nord à des mouvements bouddhistes, dans le Sud au çivaïsme, sans les considérer dans une étude d'ensemble, mais en leur assignant sommairement une même appartenance « tantrique », extendant par là occultiste et hétérodoxe.

Seuls les textes qui, émanant de leurs milieux ou de milieux voisins, sont en des formes de moyen-indien que les grammairiens indiens appellent apabhraṃśa, « dégradées » ou qui sont considérées comme les premières formes de langues indo-aryennes modernes, ont suscité un grand intérêt chez les linguistes. Ce sont les *dohā*, les *caryāpada* découverts en 1907 par Haraprasād Śāstrī et dont récemment le Dr. Per Kvaerne a étudié un recueil, la *Caryāgīti*[7]. Ces textes sont peu nombreux mais importants; ils ont été traduits en tibétain et leurs auteurs sont mentionnés dans de nombreux ouvrages, malheureusement souvent contradictoires. Ces auteurs sont du Bengale, d'Orissa, du Bihâr, du Népâl, mais aussi du Nord-Ouest, du Kaśmīr ou de la vallée du Svat, dont le Professeur Tucci a fait l'exploration archéologique. C'est-à-dire qu'ils appartiennent à toute l'Inde du Nord bouddhiste. Les *siddha* Matsyendranātha et Gorakṣanātha sont vénérés au Népâl, mais quoique parfois reçus par les bouddhistes dans leurs listes de *siddha*, ils ne sont pas bouddhistes. La secte des Nāth se considère bien comme brahmanique. Elle possède une petite littérature en sanskrit attribuée à Gorakṣanātha, mais ses écrits sont surtout nombreux en bengali et en hindi. Il est bien connu que le *haṭhayoga* est une des pratiques favorites des *siddha* et dès 1928, en éditant et traduisant le *dohākoṣa* de Kāṇha et les *caryā* de Saraha, Shahidullah[8] avait retrouvé dans ces textes elliptiques les enseignements de la *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*, moins poétiques, mais plus techniques et plus accessibles.

Si maintenant nous nous tournons vers le Sud de l'Inde, c'est là que nous trouvons des littératures aux mêmes enseignements, mais beaucoup plus considérables. Nous y retrouvons la *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* au milieu de nombre d'autres textes sanskrits similaires qui comprennent maintes *Upaniṣad* et bien des portions des *Āgama* çivaïtes, comme des *Saṃhitā* vishnouites. Mais surtout nous découvrons la masse des textes correspondants en tamoul et en kannaḍa.

La *Haṭhyayogapradīpikā* elle-même dans la liste qu'elle donne des *siddha* de la suite d'Ādinātha, le « Protecteur primordial », qui est Śiva, mentionne non seulement Matsyendra, Gorakṣa et d'autres connus par ailleurs, mais encore Allama Prabhu. Ce dernier est un des plus grands auteurs de la littérature çivaïte kannaḍa. Son grand ouvrage, édité et traduit récemment en cinq volumes, est le *Śūnyasaṃpādane*[9], l'« Obten-

7. *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs. A study of the Caryāgīti*, Oslo, 1977.
8. *Les chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha*, Paris, 1928.
9. Par MM. Hiramath, A. Menezes et Nandimath, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1965-72.

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tion de la Vacuité ». On trouve là une longue illustration du chemin vers la vacuité, l'état vidé de toutes les contingences humaines. On la trouve sous la forme d'un recueil de pièces courtes, en vers et en prose, qu'on appelle *vacana*, « paroles » et qui sont celles d'Allama Prabhu lui-même et aussi d'autres poètes de la communauté des Vīraśaiva.

En Tamoul c'est toute une littérature des Cittar qui s'offre à nous et qui commence par la plus ancienne expression datable du mouvement à la fois spirituel et technique des *siddha*. Cette expression se trouve d'abord dans le *Tirumantiram*, qui comporte plus de 3000 quatrains. On peut le considérer comme un recueil de stances détachées, mais qui sont rangées selon les matières dont elles traitent ou plutôt auxquelles elles font allusion, car il s'agit, comme dans le cas des *dohā* et *caryā* du Nord d'une poésie elliptique et raffinée dont tout le monde peut apprécier les rythmes et les images, mais non pas saisir entièrement les symbolismes et les sous-entendus, sans être déjà pleinement au courant de la doctrine et des pratiques. Tirumūlar, l'auteur de ce grand texte, est, lui, manifestement au courant de la littérature sanskrite parallèle, car il dispose de deux terminologies techniques, sanskrite et tamoule, à la fois. L'œuvre fait partie d'un groupe de textes çivaïtes: les *Tirumuṟai* rassemblés vers la fin du Xème siècle, mais dont les époques de rédaction se placent pour plusieurs dès le VIIème siècle. On ne peut donc faire descendre la date de Tirumūlar plus bas que le Xème siècle et il est plus probable qu'elle se place au voisinage du temps, sinon des premiers saints çivaïtes tamouls, du moins de Māṇikkavācakar, qui se place, lui, au IXème siècle.

Quoiqu'il en soit, la littérature des Cittar s'est développée depuis le *Tirumantiram* jusqu'à nos jours. Elle est due tantôt à de grands poètes comme Civavākkiyar ou Pattirikiriyar, tantôt à des spécialistes de médecine et de chimie ou d'exercices de yoga, ou encore de magie. La médecine des *cittar*, est en vogue à côté de celle de l'Āyurveda classique mais elle utilise nombre de préparations à base de substances minérales en dehors des plantes de l'Āyurveda. Elle échange aussi des prescriptions avec la médecine tamoule dite *Yūnānī* qui suit des recettes gréco-arabes, au besoin alchimiques, et qui est employée spécialement par les musulmans.

Dans les listes de Cittar on retrouve les siddha du Nord notamment Maccēntiranātaṉ et Kōrakkanātaṉ qui ne sont pas propres au Népâl comme on l'a cru longtemps, mais on trouve aussi dans ces listes et dans les œuvres imprimées et réimprimées qui leur sont attribuées des personnages qui, eux, paraissent propres au pays tamoul, tels Tirumūlar que nous avons déjà rencontré, tels aussi d'autres dont l'existence est plus tardivement attestée, comme par exemple, Pōkar et Koṅkaṇar.

De ces « Parfaits » nous n'avons pas de biographies, mais sur eux nous avons des légendes, plus importantes sans doute par l'esprit qu'elles dénotent chez leurs narrateurs que ne seraient en elles-mêmes les aventures réelles des héros qu'elles évoquent.

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Dans cette terre de conteurs qu'est l'Inde, ces héros n'ont pas toujours une seule légende. En tout cas, celles qu'ils ont sont variées. Certaines sont sereines et philosophiquement symboliques. D'autres sont fantastiques ou humoristiques.

Celle de Tirumūlar évoque dans une affabulation merveilleuse mais simple et parfois piquante la grande doctrine de la religion de Śiva. Le pasteur d'un troupeau de vaches est mort subitement, les bêtes n'ont plus de protection. Passe un *siddha*, Tirumūlar, qui est pris de compassion. Il quitte son corps, comme peut le faire un siddha, réanime celui du pasteur et gare le sien dans un fourré, puis ramène en sureté les vaches à l'étable. Mais la femme du pasteur le prend naturellement pour son mari qu'elle croit fou lorsqu'il s'en retourne. Quant à lui, il ne retrouve plus son corps que les fauves ont dévoré et il devient, sous l'apparence du pasteur, le prédicateur du *Tirumantiram* pour les hommes. Ceux-ci sont, dans le récit comme dans la doctrine officielle du çivaïsme, les bêtes, les *paśu*, dont le pasteur, le *pati*, c'est à dire Dieu, a compassion et qu'il délivre du lien, le *pāśa*, l'ensemble des servitudes qu'à l'âme humaine impose le monde.

Tout autres sont les histoires de *Pōkar* et de Koṅkaṇar. Ils sont réputés des personnages d'une très haute antiquité mais les traditions qui les concernent, celles du moins que nous connaissons jusqu'ici, sont en partie manifestement récentes. Leurs légendes sont exposées dans les introductions des éditions des œuvres qui leur sont attribuées, dans un grand *Tamil-English Dictionary of Medicine, Chemistry, Botany and allied sciences*, de T. V. Sambasivam Pillai publié à Madras (1931-78) par *The Research Institute of Siddhar's science*. On les trouve encore en tamoul dans divers dictionnaires et manuels de littérature et, en français, dans un des livres du Dr Paramananda Mariadassou [10].

Le nom de Pōkar correspond à *bhoga* en sanskrit qui signifie « jouissance ». Il aurait joui en effet de tous les pouvoirs merveilleux qui sont les classiques *siddhi* et il aurait notamment possédé une pilule qui, gardée dans la bouche, lui permettait de circuler par l'espace à travers le monde, bien qu'il ait aussi voyagé par train ou bateau à vapeur, ce qui montre le caractère récent d'au moins la partie de sa légende qui concerne les voyages. Ceux-ci l'auraient conduit à Paris, à Rome, à Jérusalem et à la Mecque [11] et même plusieurs millénaires avant notre ère car les conteurs qui prétendent à une très haute antiquité pour leurs cittar sont généreux et en accordent tout autant aux autres. De plus Pōkar aurait été chinois et converti en Chine au çivaïsme par un certain Kālāṅkinātar (en sanskrit Kālāgninātha qui porte le nom d'une forme de Rudra-Śiva qui s'appelle le « Feu du Temps » et qui embra-

10. *Medecine traditionnelle de l'Inde. Histoire de la médecine hindoue*, 2e éd., tome I, Pondichéry, 1943, pp. 1-20.

11. Pōkamunivar, *Cattakāṇṭam 7000*, Edition Kantacāmimutaliyār, Madras, 1897, réédition 1900 (III, 11; III, 215; III, 220; III, 229).

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sera le monde à la fin du présent cycle cosmique). Un des pouvoirs merveilleux qu'il aurait acquis lui aurait permis, les hommes s'étant trouvés en Chine en trop faible nombre par rapport aux femmes, de suppléer tout seul à leur carence et de sauver la démographie de la Chine. Koṅkaṇar aurait été un roi de la Chine devenu son disciple. Après toutes sortes d'épreuves, Koṅkaṇar aurait quitté son pays pour être admis dans l'Inde parmi les Cittar et il aurait laissé comme commandement à ses anciens sujets de porter une natte dans le dos en mémoire du serpent de Śiva.

Il est clair que cette légende n'est qu'un récit burlesque utilisant une certaine connaissance de la Chine, avec laquelle d'ailleurs les marchands tamouls ont eu longtemps un commerce établi. Marco Polo mentionne qu'au port chinois qu'il appelle Zayton et qui était le plus grand qu'il connût, une importante colonie indienne recevait chaque année cent bateaux de poivre pour un qui parvenait aux pays d'Occident. Or les découvertes archéologiques de notre temps, au même lieu, ont mis au jour des vestiges considérables de deux temples de l'art du Sud de l'Inde, et une inscription tamoule. Et, tout à fait indépendamment, nous connaissons par ailleurs les rapports du taoisme avec le yoga.

Mais il existe une tout autre légende de Koṅkaṇar et cette fois son affabulation invraisemblable est due à une hypothèse de savant européen.

Le nom de Koṅkaṇar désigne normalement un homme du Koṅkan, la contrée de Goa. Or Caldwell, l'illustre évêque anglican qui a fondé la grammaire comparée des langues dravidiennes [12], a été frappé de la profession de foi monothéiste des Cittar et particulièrement de Koṅkaṇar. Persuadé que les Indiens n'avaient pu être par eux-mêmes que polythéistes il a immédiatement formé l'hypothèse d'une influence des Portugais de Goa sur Koṅkaṇar. Il ignorait que le Ṛgveda proclame déjà l'unicité de l'Être que les sages le nomment des noms divers de ses manifestations et que le développement de la dévotion des doctrines théologiques et des techniques du yoga est bien antérieur à l'ère chrétienne et que le Śaivasiddhānta est attesté en pays tamoul depuis au moins le VIIIe siècle.

L'origine goanaise de Koṅkaṇar ou tout au moin l'hypothèse qu'il aurait pu séjourner au Koṅkan tout en étant tamoul n'aurait pas été inacceptable si elle n'avait été inutile, mais le nom prétait à confusion. La langue du Koṅkan étant la *koṅkanī* qui n'a rien de commun avec le tamoul, on a aussi, dans la tradition tamoule, interprété le nom de Koṅkaṇar comme désignant un homme du Koṅku, qui est cette fois un territoire tamoul et on a fait naître notre auteur à Kōyamputtūr (dans les cartes anglaises Coimbatore) [13].

Quoi qu'il en soit, dans la littérature tamoule comme dans la sanskrite, nous devons nous résigner à ignorer la plupart des biographies,

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12. Robert Caldwell, *A comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of languages*, 2d, ed. London, 1975, Introduction p. 147.

13. Sambasivam Pillai, s.v. Koṅkaṇar.

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mais nous avons les œuvres. Nous les avons comme produits classables de tout un peuple aux origines et aux langages divers mais élaborant sans cesse des courants d'idées et de pratiques qui, quel qu'en soit le point de départ, indo-aryen ou dravidien, deviennent pan-indiens. Il ne faut plus que les spécialisations nous le cache.

Nous voyons maintenant une fois de plus, par l'étude simultanée des traditions du Nord et du Sud sur les Siddha et les Cittar, que les sources sanskrites et tamoules se complètent pour une connaissance intégrale de l'indianité. Cette étude nous donne le témoignage évident de l'unité de ce que l'on avait cru séparé, un témoignage du concours perpétuel que le Sud dravidien a apporté au Nord pour unifier dans l'ensemble du monde indien des éléments majeurs d'une culture variée mais cohérente, dont le sanskrit a été l'instrument de liaison et de diffusion, mais dont la teneur a été formée en commun.

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J. GONDA

UPANAYANA

There has been some controversial discussion on the exact meaning of the term *upanayana*. Whereas Stenzler[1] seems to have understood it to denote the introduction of a pupil to his teacher by the father — he translated ĀśvGS. 1, 19, 1 *aṣṭame varṣe brāhmaṇam upanayet* « im achten Jahre soll er den Brāhmaṇa (beim Lehrer) einführen » — Oldenberg[2] argued in favour of the interpretation « (the teacher) introduces (the pupil) to the *brahmacarya* or introduces him with himself ». However, in Religion des Veda by the same scholar[3] the term is explained as « Einführung beim Lehrer ». Like Hillebrandt[4], who speaks of « Schulaufnahme » and « Aufnahme beim Lehrer », Keith[5] seems to have followed Oldenberg's earlier explanation: « a *brahman* child... should be received as a student by a teacher » but Renou[6] obviously preferred Stenzler's interpretation: « l'introduction auprès du précepteur ». So did von Glasenapp[7]: « die Einführung beim Lehrer ». Other authors[8] use the brief term « initiation » which leaves the moot question undecided. Recently, Ch. Sen[9], after explaining « the rite of

1. A. F. Stenzler, *Indische Hausregeln*, vol. I, 2, Leipzig, 1865, p. 46.
2. H. Oldenberg, *The Gṛhya-Sūtras translated*, vol. I, S.B.E. 29, Oxford, 1886 (Delhi, 1964), p. 58 f.
3. H. Oldenberg, *Die Religionen des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, ³1923, p. 464; 607. Cf. also the ambiguous formulation p. 130 « wenn der heranwachsende Knabe zum Lehrer gebracht wurde, der ihn in die Kunde des Veda einführen sollte »; and the translations p. 340 « Schüleraufnahme »; p. 407 « Schülerweihe ».
4. A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 50, referring to Oldenberg, S.B.E. 29, p. 58.
5. A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Cambridge Mass., 1925, p. 369.
6. L. Renou (and J. Filliozat), *L'Inde classique*, vol. I, Paris, 1947, p. 364.
7. H. von Glasenapp, *Die Religionen Indiens*, Stuttgart, 1943, p. 91.
8. Among them A. L. Basham, *The wonder that was India*, London, 1954 (1956), p. 161.
9. Ch. Sen, *Dictionary of Vedic rituals*, Delhi, 1978, p. 137.

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initiation in which he (a boy) symbolically is led near his teacher » and quoting the irrelevant place HirGS. 1, 5, 2 (see below), observes « or, probably, he is ushered by initiation into the next stage of life » which, as will be shown below, can hardly be regarded as the original or proper meaning of the term.

A double explanation was, likewise unconvincingly, also proposed by Kane [10]: « The word *upanayana* can be derived and explained in two ways: (1) taking (the boy) near the *ācārya*, (2) that rite by which the boy is taken to the *ācārya* ». The at first sight non-existent difference between these two meanings is, according to the author, the following: « the first sense appears to have been the original one and when an extensive ritual came to be associated with *upanayana* the second came to be the sense of the word ». However, the assumption of an « original » or earlier pre-ritual, so to say profane, *upanayana* which in course of time came to be a ritual is mere speculation and in the light or what is known of the religious ideas and practices of archaic, (semi-) primitive and prehistoric man, hardly acceptable: « Whatever there is in life that is variable or contingent is forced into definite, stereotyped and diversified rites as much as is at all possible » [11]. « All pre-modern, traditional societies accord primary importance to the ideology and technique of initiation » [12]. This is of course not to deny that formerly the ritual may have been simpler than or different from that which is described in the *gṛhyasūtras*.

Nor should we follow Pandey [13] in regarding the different aspects of this *saṃskāra* as successive stages of a process of development: « initiation of a boy by a teacher into sacred lore », later on, « second birth through the *sāvitrī* », in still later times, « only in physical sense, i.e. taking the pupil near the teacher by his guardians »; finally, « its educational sense has departed altogether ». This author has failed to notice that the authorities whose « explanations » he quotes in substantiation of his view — and who, it is true, were no contemporaries — did not in the places adduced deal with all the aspects of the institution exhaustively but drew attention to no more than one or two of these aspects or confined themselves to a brief definition. He is moreover mistaken in assuming that originally education was the main purpose of this *saṃskāra* and ritual no more than « an ancillary item », and that in course of time the performance of the ritual... « became the chief object and education a secondary one ». It may be true that according to Yājñavalkya 1, 15 the teaching of the Veda was « the highest object of the *upanayana* », what this authority says is that a *guru* should not give instruction in the Scriptures without having performed the

10. P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. II, Poona, 1941, p. 269.
11. G. VAN DER LEEUW, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London, 1938, p. 192.
12. M. ELIADE, *Birth and rebirth. The religious meanings of initiation in human culture*, New York, 1958, p. IX f.
13. R. B. PANDEY, *Hindu saṃskāras*, Banaras, 1949, p. 194 ff.

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act denoted by the verb *upa-nī-* (*upanīya guruḥ śiṣyaṃ... vedam adhyāpayed enam*), not that the latter act is wholly or almost devoid of ritual significance. Nor does Āpastamba's statement (DhS. 1, 1, 9) « *upanayana* is the *saṃskāra* of (for) a male person desirous of (sacred) knowledge » imply that *upanayana* can not or hardly be called a ritual; it is explicitly said to be one, viz. a *saṃskāra*, but it is the *saṃskāra* for one desirous of instruction, not for the man who wishes to marry etc.[14].

After quoting Oldenberg's observations in S.B.E. 29 V.M. Apte[15] expressed the opinion that the German scholar has been « making much ado about a simple point ». « *Upanayana* » he argues, « literally means " drawing or carrying or leading near " and it matters but little who leads the boy-pupil to his teacher; the teacher himself or a relation of the boy ». This argument is untenable. First, we should always try to interpret the texts as completely and exactly as possible, and to elicit the maximum of information, the truth from reluctant sources; secondly, from the ritual point of view it matters much who leads the boy, his father or the *guru*, and to whom or to what he is led.

So what do the texts teach us? There can be no doubt that *upa-nī-* means « to lead or bring near », often especially « ... to something or somebody (regarded as) " higher " »: « to lead up to », « to lead in a modest, more or less submissive, polite, respectful way »; cf., e.g., *upa-sthā-* « to place oneself near, to adore or worship whilst standing erect »; *upa-ās-* « to sit near in order to honour or wait upon; to worship or adore (in sitting position) »; *upa-sev-* « to serve, do homage, honour »; *upa-ni-ṣad-* « to sit down (e.g., or especially) at the feet of a teacher »[16]. See e.g. RV. 2, 3, 10... *nayatu... devébhyo daívyaḥ śamitópa havyám* « the divine preparer (Agni) must lead the oblation (respectfully) up to the gods »; MS. 4, 13, 4: 203, 7; KS. 16, 21: 244, 9; ĀpŚS. 4, 7, 2; BhŚS. 4, 10, 1. The active verb *upanayet* is at ĀśvGS. 1, 19, 1 and PG. 2, 2, 1 probably used of the father who is enjoined to bring his son (in his eighth year, if he is a brahmin) to a teacher (... *brāhmaṇam upanayet*): as is well known these anonymous injunctions are in these texts usually addressed to the householder who has to perform the domestic rites or is responsible for the performance. Thus it is clear that the subject of *saṃpreṣyati* in ĀśvGS. 1, 18, 6 is the father who gives orders to the

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14. Moreover, PANDEY, *op. cit.*, p. 197, overlooks the fact that Gautama's work is generally agreed to be the oldest dharma-sūtra (± 600-400 B.C.), whereas Āpastamba's work belongs to ± 450-350. See J. D. M. DERRETT, *Dharmaśāstra and juridical literature*, H.I.L. vol. IV, 1, Wiesbaden, 1973, p. 28 f.

15. V. M. APTE, *Social and religious life in the grihya sutras*, ²Bombay, 1954, p. 198.

16. Cf. L. RENOU, *Grammaire sanscrite*, Paris, 1930, p. 142 (bibliographical references); B. DELBRÜCK, *Altindische Syntax*, Halle a. S., 1888, p. 454 f.; the same, *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, vol. I, Strassburg, 1893, p. 693; for parallels in the related languages ibidem, p. 694 ff.; K. BRUGMANN, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, vol. II, 2, ²Strassburg, 1911, p. 913; E. SCHWYZER and A. DEBRUNNER, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. II, München, 1950, p. 523.

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barber: « arrange his (the sons's) hair etc. ». I would therefore avoid translating, with Oldenberg, « let him initiate a *brāhmaṇa* », and prefer Stenzler's rendering « ... soll er den Brāhmaṇa (beim Lehrer) einführen », or rather simply « lead (respectfully) to... ». This is obviously also the sense in the general injunction at BGS. 3, 13, 6; ŚGS. 2, 1, 10; PGS. 2, 5, 40; GGS. 2, 10, 5 « let them (those concerned, i.e. the fathers or relations) not lead such men (to a teacher); let them (those concerned, i.e. teachers) not teach them; let them (i.e. priests) not perform sacrifices for them; let them (girls and their fathers or families) form no matrimonial alliance with them; let them (people in general) have no intercourse with them ».

Elsewhere however the teacher (*ācārya*) is the subject of the active verb in the formulae VGS. 5, 17 ... *tvā ... brahma santam upanayāmy aham asau* « I lead thou near, O N.N., who art *bráhman* » and BhGS. 1, 7 *kasya brahmacāry asi? kasmai tvā kāya tvā kam upanayāmi?* « whose student art thou?; who art thou?; for whom do I lead thee near?, for Ka (Prajāpati) thee » [17]; ŚGS. 2, 2, 12 *devasya tvā savituḥ ... upanayāmy asau* « on (participating in and impelled by) the impulse of the god Savitar ... I initiate thee, N.N. » (Oldenberg); Kauś. 55, 12 *ārṣeyam tvā kṛtvā bandhumantam upanayāmi* « I make thee of sacred descent ("belonging to a *ṛṣi*") and lead thee near (the study of the Veda) as one who has a bond (relations) » spoken in reply to the student's request to do so: 11 *ārṣeyaṃ mā kṛtvā bandhumantam upanaya.* Here the question arises as to whom or to which (what) the teacher should lead the pupil. The answer is, it would appear to me, found in those passages which, whilst dealing with the same situation, contain the noun *brahmacarya* « the condition of life of the Vedic student (*brahmacārin*) » [18], in the first place in ŚB. 11, 5, 4, 16 *na brāhmaṇam brahmacaryam upanīya mithunaṃ caret* « one should not have sexual intercourse after having led (introduced) a brahmin to *brahmacarya* ». As this passage deals with the function of a teacher it is clear that it is the very process of introducing a pupil to the mode of life called *brahmacarya* which is denoted by the verb *upa-nī-*. When in the above passages a teacher says *upanayāmi tvā* this idea is no doubt to be supplied and when a father is said to lead his son to a teacher it is in all probability implied. It may be observed that KauthG. 15 uses the term *brahmacarya* for the whole complex of ceremonies where the other manuals have *upanayanam: aṣṭame varṣe brahmacaryam.*

Now, the one who has entered upon the state of a *brahmacārin* is said to be *upeta*, i.e. « to have (reverentially) approached »: ŚGS. 4, 8, 1 *nyāyopetebhyaś ca vartayet* « to those who have regularly approached (a teacher, i.e. have become pupils) he shall set forth (Vedic texts) » rather than « to (students) who have been duly initiated... » because this English verb might imply that the youths have already been intro-

17. See ŚB. 11, 3, 4, 1 quoted below and e.g. VājS. 7, 29; 22, 20.
18. See J. Gonda, *Change and continuity*, The Hague, 1965, p. 284 ff.

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duced into the secrets (of the Veda). Thus ĀpDhS. 1, 2, 11 *upetasyācāryakule brahmacārivāsaḥ* means « he who has come (to the house of his teacher for instruction) shall dwell there as a religious student », rather than, with Bühler [19], « who has been initiated ». See also PGS. 3, 10, 10, where an *upeta* likewise is a male person who has gone through the *upanayana* ceremonies [20]. Hence the equivalence of *upāyana* and *upanayana*, the former word occurring in KGS. 41, 1 and MGS. 1, 22, 1 *saptame varṣe brāhmaṇasyopāyanam* and explained by Devapāla (on KGS.) as *ācāryasamīpagamanamekhalābandhanasaṃskāraḥ* « the *saṃskāra* of approaching the *ācārya* and the investiture with the girdle »; with the explanation « when this has taken place one is entitled to (the study of) *śruti* and *smṛti* », and by Ādityadarśana (on KGS.) as « *upanayana*, including the binding on of the girdle of *muñja* grass etc. » [21]. Another instructive place is ŚB. 11, 5, 3, 13 *upāyāni bhagavantam iti, sa hovāca... ehy upehīti. tatheti. taṃ hopaninye* « (Ś. said), " I will approach thee (become thy pupil), reverend sir "; he replied, " ... come approach (enter as my pupil) ", " so be it ", he said. He then led (drew) him near (to himself, i.e. received him as a pupil » (rather than « he then initiated him » [22]). Notice the occurrence of the middle voice of the verb which is also used in the formula *brahmacaryam āgām upa mā nayasva* in KGS. 41, 10; JGS. 1, 12: 11, 7; HGS. 1, 5, 2; ĀgnGS. 1, 1, 3; Kauś. 55, 9 « I have come (the aorist *gā-* beside the present *i-*) to *brahmacarya* (rather than « for studentship ») [23]. Compare ŚB. 11, 5, 4, 1 describing the *upanayana* ceremony: *brahmacaryam āgām ity āha: brahmaṇa evaitad ātmānaṃ nivedayati... brahmacāry asānīty āha. brahmaṇa evaitad ātmānaṃ paridadāty. athainam āha ko nāmāsīti. prajāpatir vai kaḥ. prājāpatyam evainaṃ tat kṛtvopanayate* « He says, " I have come to (not, with Eggeling, " for ") the mode of life of a student of the Veda. He thereby offers himself to *brahman*. He says, " I should like to be a student of the Veda. He thereby makes himself over to (entrusts himself to) *brahman*. He (the teacher) then says, " What (*ka*) is thy name? " Now Ka is Prajāpati. He thus leads (draws) him to himself (receives him) after having made him one belonging to Prajapati ».

In accordance with the wording of the above formula it reads in HGS. 1, 5, 8 « Then (the teacher) seizes from behind the (boy's) right shoulder with his right hand and the (boy's) left (shoulder) with his left (hand) and draws (the boy's) right arm towards himself (*abhy ātmann*

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19. In S.B.E. 2, p. 7.

20. As to the use of *upa-i-* compare also MGS. 1, 1, 18 « by the fact that we approach (*upemasi*), O Agni, with warmth, warmth and the study of the Veda, may we be dear to *brahman*... ».

21. Cf. KANE, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 188 f.

22. Thus J. EGGELING, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated*, vol. V, S.B.E. 44, Oxford, 1900, p. 85.

23. W. CALAND, *The Jaiminigṛhyasūtra*, Lahore, 1922, p. 19 (« for » would rather correspond to the dative). The reading *brahmacaryam upāgām upa mā hvayasva* « ... call me near to thee » of VGS. 5, 16 is in all probability a secondary deviation.

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upanayate)... with (the formula), "on (participating in and impelled by) the impulse of the god Savitar... I draw (thee), O N.N., towards myself (*upanaye*, i.e. I declare tat I am willing to initiate thee)"»; in KGS. 41, 16 *devasya te savituḥ... hastaṃ gṛhṇāmy asā upanaye 'sau. savitā te hastam agrahīd, agnir ācāryas tava. kas tvā kam upanaye 'sau. kāya tvā paridadāmi. kasya brahmacāry asi. prāṇasya*[24] *brahmacāry asmīti pratyāha.* See also ĀgnGS. 1, 1, 3: 8, 2. The middle voice occurs also in the formulae in ĀśvGS. 1, 20, 8 « Whose *brahmacārin* art thou? Thou art the *brahmacārin* of breath. Who does draw thee towards himself and whom (*kas tvā kam* Oldenberg, " to whom...? ") ». See also MGS, 1, 22, 5. These passages — and others dealing with the ensuing acts and *mantras* — precede the instruction in the *savitrī* (HGS. 1, 6, 6; KGS. 41, 20; ĀgnG. 1, 1, 3: 9, 20; ĀśvGS. 1, 21, 5; MGS. 1, 22, 13) which is the first stanza the boy had to learn. Cf. also ŚB. 11, 5, 4, 12 ff.; Manu, 2, 173 « the one (student) who has been received must be instructed in the observances and gradually learn the Veda », and Yājñ. 1, 15 « after having received (*upanīya*) the pupil, the *guru* should teach him the Veda and the rules of right conduct ». It is clear that the rites performed by the teacher in taking the pupil by the shoulders, grasping his hand (and later on in touching the region of his heart with a formula to unite their hearts; see HGS. 1, 5, 11) are to bring the two into close contact. Attention may be drawn also to the words in HGS. 1, 6, 6 (and ĀgnG., l. cit.), with reference to a *punarupanayana* by way of *prāyaścitta*[25], *atra sāvitrīṃ vācayati yadi purastād upeto bhavati* « he now makes him recite (i.e. teaches him) the *sāvitrī* if he has approached (in order to become a *brahmacārin*) before ». If, however, the text continues (7), he is *anupetaḥ* « has not approached... (the instruction does not begin before) three days have elapsed »: through this period the student should keep a special vow (HGS. 1, 8, 1 f.). A period of three days is also mentioned in the very instructive passage AVŚ. 11, 5, 3 « the teacher (*ācāryaḥ*) receiving the *brahmacārin* (drawing him towards himself, *upanayamānaḥ*)[26] makes him an embryo within[27]; he bears him in his abdomen three nights (and days)... ».

The middle voice is, according to expectation, also found in KGS. 41. 24 « (the man) whom somebody knowing thus *upanayate* learns (studies, recites) one, two, or three of these Vedas, or all of them »: such a teacher is qualified for the privilege of being an *upanetar* (Devapāla).

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24. « Prajāpati is vital breath (*prāṇa*) (because he is) the thread (holding together everything) of the world » (Devapāla).

25. KANE, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 392 f.; see, e.g., also ViDhŚ. 54, 26 where the object is « those concerned ».

26. W. D. WHITNEY and CH. R. LANMAN, *The Atharva-Veda Saṃhitā*, Cambridge Mass., 1905, p. 636, translate « taking him in charge ».

27. The spiritual preceptor causes the pupil to be born again by imparting him sacred learning. Cf. ŚB. 11, 5, 4, 12 « by laying his right hand on (the pupil) the teacher becomes pregnant (with him), on the third (day) he is born as a brahmin with the *sāvitrī* ».

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But « the one whom a man unlearned in the Veda *upanayate* comes out of darkness and enters darkness » (ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 11). Injunctions such as ŚGS. 2, 1, 1 *garbhāṣṭameṣu brāhmaṇam upanayeta*; 2, 1, 25; BDhŚ. 1, 3, 7; VāsDhŚ. 11, 49; AVPar. 37, 16, 1 etc. should therefore be taken to refer to the spiritual preceptor.

That, however, the active form (see above) can be found beside the medium appears, e.g., from BGS. 2, 5, 28 *athainam upanayati devasya tvā savituḥ prasave... upanaye 'sau iti.* Here we should either supply *brahmacaryam* or suppose that the author has not deemed it necessary to express the medial modification explicitly (neutral active)[28].

Two passages quoted from later authors may be subjoined in order to show that they agree with the above interpretation. Says Abhiyukta, in Vīramitrodayasaṃskāraprakāśa, I, p. 334 « *upanayana* is that (rite) through which a man is led to the proximity of the *guru*, observances, the Veda, restraints, restrictions and the gods »; « is led to the proximity » (*samīpaṃ nīyate*), not « introduced into ». And Aparārarka, on Yājñ. 1, 14 defines the term as follows: « *upanayana* is the establishment of a connexion between the pupil and the *sāvitrī*, brought about by the teacher ».

The above may suffice to show that, as already observed, the use of translations such as « initiation » or « introduction » may create misunderstanding. In classical Latin, the verb *initiare* means « to initiate, admit to secret religious rites »; it derives from *initia* (plural) « elements; first principles; secret sacred rites to which only the initiated were admitted » — according to Cicero, De legibus 2, 14, 36 *initiaque ut appellantur, ita re vera principia vitae cognovimus* — which, being the plural of *initium* « beginning », was the Latin equivalent of the Greek μυστήρια « secret rites, religious or mystical truths ». This Latin noun derives from *inire* (*ire* being etymologically related to Skt. *i-* « to go »; cf. the above *upeta*), which however means « to go into, to enter, to enter upon », not « to approach ». Moreover, the Indian *upanayana* is the first stage of a long and complex series of rites (cf. Manu 2, 108) which ends with the student's returning home after completing his studies and education in the house of his preceptor (*samāvartana*). Essentially, this is a puberty ritual, effecting the transition from childhood or adolescence to adulthood and as such it is obligatory for all members of the three Aryan classes of the Indian society. The Greek μυστήρια and the Latin *initia*, on the other hand, were optional and requisite for entering what, in a way, might be called a secret society.

28. See J. Gonda, *The medium in the Ṛgveda*, Leiden, 1979, p. 38 f.

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MINORU HARA

ŚRADDHĀVIVEŚA

The phrase quoted above as the title of this article, which appears in the introductory prose portion of the *Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad*, is well-known to students of Sanskrit literature. This short legend preceding the main body of the *Upaniṣad*, the versified philosophical dialogue between Yama and Naciketas, is almost identical with that found in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (3.11.8). This parallel between the *Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* has been pointed out by a number of Indologists in the past [1], and it is considered that this portion of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* may have been taken over word by word from the lost *Kaṭha Brāhmaṇa* [2].

According to the generally accepted English translation [3], the introductory story of the Naciketas legend is as follows. Uśant, the son of Vājaśravas, gave all his possessions (*sarva-vedas*) as a religious gift. He had a son, Naciketas by name. Faith (*śraddhā*) entered (*āviveśa*) into

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* I would like to express my thanks to my friend, Dr. Richard F. Young, who kindly took the trouble to read through my original manuscript and correct my English. This article is a part of a monograph on *āveśa*, which I am preparing for publication in Japanese. Abbreviations used in this article are as follows: MBh.: *Mahābhārata* (The Poona Critical Edition), R.: *Rāmāyaṇa* (The Baroda Critical Edition), H.: *Harivaṃśa* (The Poona Critical Edition, unless otherwise indicated), KSS.: *Kathāsaritsāgara* (NSP. 1915), ASS.: Anandaśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona), TSS.: Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (Trivandrum), NSP.: Nirnaya Sagar Press (Bombay).

1. Cf., for example, F. WELLER, *Versuch einer Kritik der Kaṭhopaniṣad*, Berlin, 1953, pp. 110 ff.

2. Cf. M. WITZEL, *An Unknown Upaniṣad of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda: The Kaṭha-śikṣā-upaniṣad*, in « Journal of the Nepal Research Centre », I (1977), pp. 139-40. As regards the position of this verse-upaniṣad in the whole canon of the Kaṭha school, cf. his article p. 152 and his *Die Kaṭha-śikṣā-upaniṣad und ihr Verhältnis zur śikṣā-vallī der Taittirīya-upaniṣad* in WZKSA, 23 (1979), p. 7 and 10.

3. The following quotations are mainly taken from the translation of R. E. HUME, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, Oxford, 1921.

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him, though he was only a lad, while the sacrificial gifts (*dakṣiṇā*) were being led up. He thought,

> « Their water drunk, their grass eaten, their milk milked, barren! Joyless certainly are those worlds he goes to, who gives such (cow) » [4].

> *pītodakā jagdha-tṛṇā dugdha-dohā nirindriyāḥ*
> *anandā nāma te lokās tān sa gacchati tā dadat* (1.3) [5]

Then he said to his father: « To whom will you give me? » — a second time —, a third time. To him then he said: « To Death I give you ».

This verse (1.3) seems to have a distant echo in one passage of the *gopradānika* section of the *Mahābhārata* (13.76), in which the reward for giving an inadequate gift — in this case an unproductive cow — to Brahmins is mentioned.

> « One who gives (unto a Brahmin) a cow that drinks nothing but water and eats only grass, that has her milk dried up and is barren, goes to those worlds which are of demoniac (*asurya*) nature ».
> *asuryā nāma te lokā gāṃ dattvā tatra gacchati*
> *pītodakāṃ jagdha-tṛṇāṃ naṣṭa-dugdhāṃ nirindriyām* (MBh. 13.76.5)

Now, regarding our own phrase, the meaning of its first part, viz. the word *śraddhā*, has been well established by H.-W. Köhler. In his illuminating monograph [6], he proposed a unique interpretation of the word as *Spendefreudigkeit* or *Freigebigkeit*, rather than *Glaube* [7]. This interpretation of the word is eminently suitable to our context as is pointed out by L. Alsdorf [8], but Köhler's proposition may further be verified if the second part of our phrase, the concept of the verb *ā-viś-* will be analysed more precisely. It is, then, with a view toward substantiating Köhler's interpretation of *śraddhā* and to reaching a better understanding of the phrase *śraddhāviveśa*, that the present writer presents here a philological study of *ā-viś-* on the basis of passages appearing in the Epics and classical Sanskrit literature.

In our Upaniṣadic passage, the verb *āviveśa* is usually rendered as the English word *entered* [9]. However, *enter* (*viś-* with its compounded

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4. The interpretation of this verse varies from one translator to the other. Personally, I prefer the traditional translation, especally to that by J. Charpentier, who emended *ananda* to *ānanda* in IA, 57 (1927), p. 221. Cf. 221. Cf. also P. Thieme's ingenious translation in his *Zum parenthetischen Nominalsatz im Indischen* in KZ, 68 (1944), pp. 216-17.

5. For this verse, cf. P. Horsch, *Die vedische Gāthā- und Śloka-literatur*, Bern, 1966, p. 166.

6. Cf. Hans-Werbin Köhler, *Śrad-dhā in der vedischen und altbuddhistischen Literatur*, Wiesbaden, 1973.

7. Cf. my review of the book in IIJ, 19 (1977), pp. 105-8.

ZDMG, 100 (1950), p. 636.

9. One must note that J. Charpentier translates the verb into *took possession of* (IA, 57, p. 221) and H.-W. Köhler into *überkam* (*op. cit.*, p. 42), as P. Deussen once did (*Sechzig Upaniṣad's des Veda*, p. 226).

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forms such as *pra-viś-*, *sam-ā-viś-*, etc.) is a verbal concept which is not used in a plain and simple way in classical Sanskrit literature. Primarily, the verb is construed with physical objects, such as caves, houses, forests, etc., which stand in the accusative case of direction with the verb in question. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this:

viviśus te mahā-raṅgaṃ nṛpāḥ siṃhā ivācalam (MBh. 3.54.3)
praviveśa gṛhaṃ śrīmān yathā caitraratha prabhuḥ (MBh. 3.243.17)
uktvā bhīṣma-vadhāyeti praviveśa hutāśanam (MBh. 5.188.18) [10]

Besides this primary usage, we often meet its extended, figurative usage, in which the object of entering is the seat of emotion, such as the mind (*mānasa, citta*) or heart (*hṛdaya*). To captivate another's mind with personal charm is often expressed in Sanskrit literature as entering into the mind of another.

sā ca dṛṣṭā praviṣṭaiva hṛdayaṃ me mṛgekṣaṇā (KSS. 104.96)
citraṃ śruti-pathenādau praviśyānyonya-mānasam
anirgatyāpy aviśatāṃ dṛṣṭi-mārgeṇa tau punaḥ (KSS. 65.248) [11]

Skillful classical writers combined these primary and secondary usages in their ornate phraseology:

tato madanasenā sā viveśa svagṛhāntaram
cittaṃ ca dharmadattasya tad-anālokana-vyathā (KSS. 84.11)
saṃmānya rāja-lokaṃ ca vatsarājaḥ kṛtotsavaḥ
cittaṃ sarva-janasyeva viveśāntaḥpuraṃ tataḥ (KSS. 18.26)
candrāpīḍo 'pi praviśya svacchandaṃ kādambarī-hṛdayam iva
dvitīyaṃ maṇi-gṛhaṃ... (Kādambarī p. 357, lines 7-8, *NSP.* 1928) [12]

Apart from these literary usages, the verbal forms *ā-viś-*, *pra-viś-*, *anu-praviś-* appear in magical and yogic contexts. The *Pāśupata-sūtras* guarantee adepts an ability to enter another's body [13], and this technique is taught in Patañjali's *Yoga-sūtra* under the technical term of *para-śarīrāveśa* [14]. Furthermore, this art of entering another's body constitutes a well-known literary motif in Hindu myths [15]. In philosophical contexts,

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10. Cf., for example, MBh. 3.243.17 (*praviveśa gṛham*), 3.244.16 (*viviśus...vanam*), 3.268.19 (*prāsāda-talam āviśat*), 6.60.19 (*syandanopastha āviśat*), 7.165.56 (*nakṣatra-patham āviśat*). As for *ākāśam āviśya*, cf. R. 1.33.4, 1.42.19, 3.50.29, 5.1.118, 157, 181, 6.31.62, 40.59, 45.33, 57.45.

11. Cf., for example, KSS. 10.89 (*sā...hṛdayaṃ tasya viveśa*), 71.102 (*śrotreṇota netreṇa praviṣṭām iva tāṃ hṛdi*), 72.286 (*vaṇik-putrasya dṛṣṭaiva viveśa hṛdi kanyakā*), 90.46 (*muṣita-citto 'ntardṛṣṭi-mārga-praviṣṭayā*).

12. Cf. also KSS. 81.49-50.

13. *Pāśupata-sūtra* (TSS. 141) 1.29 (*sarvāṃś cāviśati*) and 1.30 (*sarveṣāṃ cānāveśyo bhavati*).

14. *Yoga-sūtra* 3.38 (*bandha-kāraṇa-śaithilyāt pracāra-saṃvedanāc ca cittasya para-śarīrāveśaḥ: yogī cittaṃ sva-śarīrān niṣkṛṣya śarīrāntareṣu nikṣipati* Vyāsa-bhāṣya).

15. Cf. M. Bloomfield, *On the Art of Entering Another's Body* in PAPhS, 56 (1917), pp. 1-43, C. H. Tawney and N. M. Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, vol. 4, London, 1925, pp. 46-8, and M. Eliade, *Le Yoga, Immortalité et Liberté*, Paris, 1954, pp. 160 and 380.

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the verb *viś-* with its compounded forms has occasionally the meaning of superceding or pervading, but its use in philosophical and religious texts may require yet another monograph [16].

With this brief introduction, our study of the verb *ā-viś-* is now to become more specific. The method used here in order to ascertain the semantic aspects of *ā-viś-* is to investigate carefully the kinds of nouns with which it is construed or compounded. To be more precise, for the purpose of arriving at a better understanding of the Upaniṣadic passage *śraddhāviveśa*, we shall first enumerate as many nominal concepts as possible which stand as the subject of the act expressed by *ā-viś*. After this mechanical enumeration, an analytical investigation of these nominal concepts, which are comparable to *śraddhā* in some way or other, will reveal several semantic values of the verb.

I

adharma

yadādharma-samāviṣṭo dhanaṃ gṛhṇāti taskaraḥ
ramate nirharan stenaḥ para-vittam arājake
[(MBh. 12.251.17)

ahaṃkāra

athendrasya bhaviṣyatvād ahaṃkāras tam āviśat
sarvāś caiva kriyās tasya paryahīyanta bhūpate
[(MBh. 13.102.10)

alakṣmī

alakṣmīr āviśaty enaṃ śayānam alasaṃ naram
niḥsaṃśayaṃ phalaṃ labdhvā dakṣo bhūtim upāśnute
[(MBh. 3.33.39) [17]

anartha

nūnaṃ te hṛdayaṃ kāma vajra-sāra-mayaṃ dṛḍham
yad anartha-śatāviṣṭaṃ śatadhā na vidīryate
[(MBh. 12.171.23) [18]

asukha

asya gātra-gatān bāṇān kārṣṇibāhubalārpitān
uddharanty asukhāviṣṭā mūrcchamānāḥ punaḥ punaḥ
[(MBh. 11.25.11) [19]

asura

bhīṣma-droṇa-kṛpādīṃś ca pravekṣyanty apare 'surāḥ
yair āviṣṭā ghṛṇāṃ tyaktvā yotsyante tava vairibhiḥ
[(MBh. 3.240.11)

avamāna

na krodho na ca mātsaryaṃ nāvamāno na saṃbhramaḥ
saputra-dāram uñcchantam āviveśa dvijottamam
[(MBh. 3.246.20)

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16. For its usages in tantric texts, cf. G. Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala*, London, 1961, p. 29 (*avāhana* or *samāveśa*), and the *Hōbōgirin, Dictionnaire encyclopédique du Bouddhisme d'après les Sources chinoises et japonaises*, I, Tokyo, 1929, p. 7 (*abisha*). I owe these references to my friend, Mr. N. Iyanaga.

17. Cf. MBh. 3.92.10-11.

18. Cf. MBh. 10.10.19.

19. Cf. MBh. 3.62.23, 11.16.52, 11.25.11.

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avṛṣṭi and *ativṛṣṭi*

aśīte vidyate śītaṃ śīte śītaṃ na vidyate
avṛṣṭir ativṛṣṭiś ca vyādhiś cāviśati prajāḥ
[(MBh. 12.91.34)

ārti

ārtiḥ parā māviśati yataḥ śaṃsasi me hatam
kurūṇāṃ ṛṣabhaṃ vīram akampyaṃ puruṣarṣabham
[(MBh. 6.15.4)

bhaya

tad apy astraṃ mahātejāḥ kṣaṇenaiva vyaśātayat
brahmāstre tu hate rājan bhayaṃ māṃ mahad āviśat
[(MBh. 3.163.35) [20]

bhī

māṃ ca bhīr āviśat tīvrā tasmin vigata-cetasi
sa ca māṃ vigata-jñānaḥ saṃtrasta idam abravīt
[(MBh. 3.168.16) [21]

cintā

kim evaṃ cintayāviṣṭo na kiṃcid api bhāṣase
cintāṃ kartuṃ vṛthā deva na tvam arhasi mādhava
[(H. 109.23) [22]

darpa

ānīyatām eṣa yato 'ham ārān mainaṃ darpaḥ punar apy
āviśeta (MBh. 1.189.17cd) [23]

dānava

yudhi saṃpraharisyanto mokṣyanti kurusattama
niḥsnehā dānavāviṣṭāḥ samākrānte 'ntarātmani
[MBh. 3.240.13) [24]

duḥkha

tasyāṃ tathā bruvatyāṃ tu duḥkhaṃ māṃ mahad āviśat
śoke yaudhiṣṭhire magnā nāhaṃ jīvitum utsahe
[(MBh. 4.18.8) [25]

durbhikṣa

anayāḥ saṃpravarteran bhaved vai varṇa-saṃkaraḥ
durbhikṣam āviśed rāṣṭraṃ yadi rājā na pālayet
[(MBh. 12.68.29)

dainya

saṃhāram āsāṃ vṛddhānāṃ tato
svakārya-kuśalābhyāṃ te saṃbhrāmyante ha naipuṇāt
[(MBh. 12.149.105)

ghṛṇā

śīla-doṣād ghṛṇāviṣṭā ānṛśaṃsyāt paraṃtapa
kleśāṃs titikṣase rājan nānyaḥ kaś cit praśaṃsati
[(MBh. 3.36.18)

harṣa

jaṭilaṃ devarājasya tapo-yuktam akalmaṣam
harṣeṇa mahatāviṣṭaḥ phalgunasyātha darśanāt
[(MBh. 3.162.10) [26]

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20. Cf. MBh. 3.2.15, 3.57.2, 3.190.31, 3.274.20, 4.27.17, 5.58.10, 5.191.12.
21. Cf. MBh. 5.185.5, 6.73.11, 8.28.40, 8.37.33.
22. Cf. MBh. 2.72.1, R. 1.54.8, H. 106.53, 106.62, 107.58, 108.4.
23. Cf. MBh. 3.92.7, 3.268.13, 5.94.32.
24. Cf. MBh. 3.240.34 (*dānavākrānta-cetas*).
25. Cf. MBh. 3.142.12, 4.18.34, 6.15.69, 6.84.35, 6.92.1, 6.94.1.
26. Cf. MBh. 3.162.10, 12.168.31.

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hrī

hriyā ca parayāviṣṭo bhavantaṃ nādhigacchati
putra-śokābhisaṃtaptaṃ buddhi-vyākulitendriyam
[(MBh. 9.62.54)

jvara

yadainaṃ patitaṃ bhūmāv apaśyaṃ rudhirokṣitam
tadaivāviśad atyugro jvaro me munisattama
[(MBh. 12.27.12) [27]

kali

kṛtvā mūtram upaspṛśya saṃdhyām āste sma naiṣadhaḥ
akṛtvā pādayoḥ śaucaṃ tatrainaṃ kalir āviśat
[(MBh. 3.56.3) [28]

kāla

kāla evātra kālena nigrahānugrahau dadat
buddhim āviśya bhūtānāṃ dharmārtheṣu pravartate
[(MBh. 13.150.2)

kaśmala

nakulas tu bhṛśaṃ viddhaḥ syālena tava dhanvinā
niṣasāda rathopasthe kaśmalaṃ cainam āviśat
[(MBh. 7.144.7) [29]

kāma

sarvair etair madair mattāv anyonyaṃ bhrukuṭī-kṛtau
mada-kāma-samāviṣṭau parasparam athocatuḥ
[(MBh. 1.204.15) [30]

kautūhala

etad icchāmy ahaṃ tvattaḥ śrotum bhārgavanandana
kautūhala-samāviṣṭo yathātathyaṃ mahāmune
[(MBh. 3.207.5) [31]

kopa

tam aśuśrūṣamāṇaṃ tu vilikhantaṃ vasuṃdharām
dṛṣṭvā duryodhanaṃ rājan maitreyaṃ kopa āviśat
[(MBh. 3.11.30) [32]

krodha

yadāhaṃ nādhigacchāmi buddhyā bahu vicārayan
saṃhāram āsāṃ vṛddhānāṃ tato māṃ krodha āviśat
[(MBh. 12.249.5) [33]

kṛpā

tato 'haṃ kṛpayāviṣṭo vinindyātmānam ātmanā
dhig dhig ity abruvaṃ yuddhaṃ kṣatraṃ ca
bharatarṣbha (MBr. 5.180.36) [34]

kṣudh

sa kasmiṃś cit kṣudhāviṣṭaḥ phala-bhāra-samanvitam
bilbaṃ dadarśa kasmiṃś cid āruroha kṣudhānvitaḥ
[(MBh. 14.57.19) [35]

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27. Cf. MBh. 7.172.19, 12.272.40, 12.273.1.
28. Cf. MBh. 3.56.9, 16, 3.92.10.
29. Cf. MBh. 3.99.9, 5.49.10.
30. Cf. MBh. 14.18.4 (*kāma-manyu-samāvṛtaḥ*).
31. Cf. MBh. 13.20.43, H. 100.39, 100.48.
32. Cf. MBh. 3.116.22, 13.53.23, R. 6.80.16.
33. Cf. MBh. 3.246.20, 4.21.57, 5.182.12, 6.80.12, 6.86.37, 6.88.2.
34. Cf. MBh. 3.10.11, 3.284.8, 5.180.36, 6.23.28, 6.24.1, 12.49.47.
35. Cf. MBh. 12.139.31, 14.93.8, 13.70.6.

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lobha

dhanavān krodha-lobhābhyām āviṣṭo naṣṭa-cetanaḥ
tiryagīkṣaḥ śuṣka-mukhaḥ pāpako bhrukuṭīmukhaḥ
[(MBh. 12.170.14) [36]

mada

te tu pāna-madāviṣṭāś coditāś caiva manyunā
yuyudhānam athābhyaghnann ucchiṣṭair bhājanais tadā
[(MBh. 16.4.31) [37]

manmatha

sa tām bhujābhyāṃ pīnābhyāṃ paryaṣvajata mārutaḥ
manmathāviṣṭa-sarvāṅgo gatātmā tām aninditām
[(R. 4.65.15) [38]

manyu

naiṣā tava mamaiṣeti tatra tau manyur āviśat
tasyā hetor gade bhīme tāv ubhāv apy agṛhṇatām
[(MBh. 1.204.17) [39]

māna

tatas teṣu pralīneṣu jājalir jāta-vismayaḥ
siddho 'smīti matiṃ cakre tatas taṃ māna āviśat
[(MBh. 12.253.38)

mātsarya

apradāya dvijātibhyo mātsaryāviṣṭa-cetasaḥ
vayaṃ te rāja-kalayo bhaviṣyāmo viśāṃ pate
[(MBh. 12.12.29) [40]

moha

śūrān praharato dṛṣṭvā kṛtāstrān rudhirokṣitān
bahūn apy āviśan moho bhīrūn hṛdaya-durbalān
[(MBh. 7.31.32) [41]

mṛtyu

yauvanasthāṃś ca bālāṃś ca vṛddhān garbhagatān api
sarvān āviśate mṛtyur evaṃbhūtam idaṃ jagat
[(MBh. 12.149.41) [42]

nidrā

udayābhyuditaṃ dṛṣṭvā śasāṅkaṃ ca viśeṣataḥ
āviveśa na taṃ nidrā niśāsu śayanaṃ gatam
[(R. 4.26.7) [43]

pāpman

ebhiḥ pāpmabhir āviṣṭo rājyaṃ tvam abhikāṅkṣasi
nirāmiṣo vinirmuktaḥ praśāntaḥ susukhī bhava
[(MBh. 12.17.2)

pauruṣa

āviṣṭa iva madreśo manyunā pauruṣeṇa ca
prācchādayad arīn saṃkhye kāla-sṛṣṭa ivāntakaḥ
vinardamāno madreśo megha-hlādo mahābalaḥ
[(MBh. 9.10.24)

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36. Cf. MBh. 6.84.33, 12.170.14.
37. Cf. MBh. 3.178.31, H. 62.69.
38. Cf. R. 3.44.13, 3.46.17, 4.1.14.
39. Cf. MBh. 1.171.6, 3.46.20, 5.150.9, 5.172.19, 8.49.5.
40. Cf. MBh. 3.246.20.
41. Cf. MBh. 3.19.7, 3.22.22, 3.178.29, 3.291.27, 4.42.6, 6.50.78, 6.84.33.
42. Cf. MBh. 3.186.7, 14.18.32.
43. Cf. H. 48.3.

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pipāsā kṣut-pipāsā-śramāviṣṭo munir uddālakis tadā
yamaṃ paśyeti taṃ putram aśapat sa mahātapāḥ
[(MBh. 13.70.6) [44]

prajāgara na pāṇḍavānāṃ śibire kaś cit suṣvāpa tāṃ niśām
prajāgaraḥ sarva-janam āviveśa viśāṃ pate
[(MBh. 7.56.7) [45]

rajas atha brahma-vadhyā-bhaya-pranaṣṭe trailokya-nāthe
śacīpatau jagad anīśvaram babhūva (1) devān rajas
tamaś cāviveśa (MBh. 12.329.29.2) [46]

rāga rāga-śoka-samāviṣṭaṃ pañca-srotaḥ-samāvṛtam
pañcabhūta-samāyuktaṃ nava-dvāraṃ dvidaivatam
[(MBh. 14.42.51)

rākṣasa saṃśaptakāś ca te vīrā rākṣasāviṣṭa-cetasaḥ
rajas-tamobhyām ākrāntāḥ phalgunasya vadhaiṣiṇaḥ
[(MBh. 3.240.33)

roṣa tasya śārṅga-vinirmuktair bahubhir marmabhedibhiḥ
puraṃ nāsādyata śarais tato māṃ roṣa āviśat
[(MBh. 3.21.18) [47]

ruṣ(ā) tato bhīmo ruṣāviṣṭaḥ putrasya tava māriṣa
sārathiṃ caturaś cāśvān bāṇair ninye yama-kṣayam
[(MBh. 9.25.25)

sambhrama sā tu vai tvaritaṃ gatvā ghūrṇikāsura-mandiram
dṛṣṭvā kāvyam uvācedaṃ sambhramāviṣṭa-cetanā
[(MBh. 1.73.25) [48]

sattva na dveṣṭy akuśalaṃ karma kuśale nānuṣajjate
tyāgī sattva-samāviṣṭo medhāvī chinna-saṃśayaḥ
[(MBh. 6.40.10) [49]

śoka śoka-sthāna-sahasrāṇi bhaya-sthāna-śatāni ca
divase divase mūḍham āviśanti na paṇḍitam
[(MBh. 3.2.15) [50]

śrama kṣut-pipāsā-śramāviṣṭo munir uddālakis tadā
yamaṃ paśyeti taṃ putram aśapat sa mahātapāḥ
[(MBh. 13.70.6)

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44. Cf. H. 2.88.75 (The Chitrashala Press).
45. Cf. MBh. 5.33.13.
46. Cf. MBh. 12.207.12, 12.245.11, 12.330.53, 12.335.60, 12.335.64.
47. Cf. MBh. 3.21.18, 3.60.34, 10.15.18, 12.278.33.
48. Cf. MBh. 3.246.20, R. 6.47.80.
49. Cf. MBh. 12.308.16, 12.308.167.
50. Cf. MBh. 3.74.7, 3.263.23, 3.264.48 and O. Böhtlingk: *Indische Sprüche* 6525.

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tamas

tasya bhittvā tanutrāṇaṃ kāyam abhyapatac charaḥ
tataḥ sa tamasāviṣṭo na sma kiṃcit prajajñivān
[(MBh. 4.55.24) [51]

tuṣṭi

api naḥ saṃśayasyānte manas tuṣṭir ihāviśet
api no bhāgadheyāni śubhāni syuḥ paraṃtapa
[(MBh. 1.187.5)

vepathu

sā tasya dvijamukhyasya nipapāta bhujāntare
vihvalaś cābhavad rājan vepathuś cainam āviśat
[(MBh. 5.185.13)

vismaya

sa tu rājā dvijaṃ dṛṣṭvā tatraivāntarhitaṃ tadā
babhūva vismayāviṣṭaḥ pṛthāṃ ca samapūjayat
[(MBh. 3.289.23) [52]

viṣṇu

tam āviśat tato viṣṇur bhagavāṃs tejasā prabhuḥ
uttaṅkasya niyogena lokānāṃ hita-kāmyayā
[(MBh. 3.195.12) [53]

vyādhi

aśīte vidyate śītaṃ śīte śītaṃ na vidyate
avṛṣṭir ativṛṣṭiś ca vyādhiś cāviśati prajāḥ
[(MBh. 12.91.34)

yakṣa

āviśanti ca yaṃ yakṣāḥ puruṣaṃ kāla-paryaye
unmādyati sa tu kṣipraṃ jñeyo yakṣa-grahas tu saḥ
[(MBh. 3.219.51)

yakṣman

dakṣa-śāpāt somaṃ rājānaṃ yakṣmāviveśa (1) sa
yakśmaṇāviṣṭo dakṣam agamat (MBh. 12.329,46.2) [54]

II

If we examine the nature of the nominal concepts presented above in alphabetical order, they may be classified into the categories listed below.

1. Words expressive of violent emotion, such as anger (*krodha, kopa, roṣa, manyu*), agony (*ārti*), manly valor (*pauruṣa*), joy (*harṣa*), grief (*śoka*), fear (*bhī, bhaya*) and agitation (*sambhrama*).
2. Words expressive of selfish vice (*adharma, pāpman*), such as self-conceit (*ahaṃkāra*), arrogance (*darpa*), haughtiness (*māna*), contempt (*avamāna*), malice (*mātsarya*) and greed (*lobha*).

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51. Cf. MBh. 12.245.11, 12.329.29.2, 12.330.53, 12.335.60, 12.335.64.
52. Cf. MBh. 1.93.14, 3.289.23, 5.118.16, 6.33.14.
53. Cf. MBh. 5.10.38, 12.59.130, 12.273.31, 12.328.33, H. 9.65.
54. Cf. MBh. 12.329.46.5.

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3. Words expressive of affection in general [55] and sexual desire in particular, such as *kāma, rāga, manmatha* and *madana* [56].

4. Words expressive of suffering and disease, such as pain (*duḥkha, asukha*), delusion (*moha*), depression or swoon (*kaśmala*), seizure (*vepathu*), fever (*jvara*), and consumption (*yakṣman*).

5. Words expressive of demoniacal beings (*bhūta*), who assail humans by the act of possession. These are *yakṣa, rākṣasa, dānava, asura* and *kali* [57].

6. Words expressive of physiological impulse, such as hunger (*kṣudh*), thirst (*pipāsā, tṛṣṇā*), drowsiness (*nidrā*) [58], fatigue (*śrama*) [59], sleeplessness (*prajāgara*) and intoxication (*mada*).

7. Words expressive of mental impulse and excitement, such as anguish (*cintā*) [60], curiosity (*kautūhala*), astonishment (*vismaya*), compassion (*kṛpā, ghṛṇā*), bashfulness (*lajjā*) [61] and shame (*hrī*) [62].

8. Words expressive of calamity (*alakṣmī, anartha*), such as draught (*avṛṣṭi*), flood (*ativṛṣṭi*), epidemics (*vyādhi*), and famine (*durbhikṣa*) [63].

In the classification above, we notice that the nominal concepts standing as the subject of *ā-viś-* are more or less characterized by overpowering impulse, psychological and physiological as well, which originate either from outside or inside the human being. These impulses overtake human beings especially when they are off-guard, who, once overtaken, can hardly resist. Those who are suddenly seized by violent emotion (anger, fear, grief, desire, etc.); those who are possessed by demoniacal beings (*bhūta*); those who are in the grip of disease (seizure, swoon, etc.); cities which fall unexpectedly into natural calamities (flood,

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55. For its construction with *preman*, cf. *Amaruśataka* 37 (*premāveśita*), 43 (*premāveśa*, lect. var. for *premābandha*), *Kādambarī* p. 357, line 3 (*premāveśa*).

56. For *madanāveśa*, cf. *Daśakumāracarita* p. 48, line 7 (NSP. 1951), *Kādambarī* p. 271, line 4, p. 280, line 7, and KSS. 22.113, 95.23 (*madanāviṣṭa*). For its construction with *smara*, cf. KSS. 37.205 (*smarāveśa-vivaśa*), 65.230 (*ārūḍha-smarāveśa*), 81.55 (*smarāviṣṭa*), 119.156 (*smara-jvarāveśa-vivaśa*). For *manmatha-śarāviṣṭa*, cf. R. 3.44.13, 3.46.17.

57. For its construction with *vetāla*, cf. KSS. 73.290, 77.68 (*vetālānupraviṣṭa*) and the compound *vetālādhiṣṭhita* in 73.292.

58. Cf. *Saundarananda* (E. H. Johnston ed.) 14.31 (*nidrāṃ nāveṣṭum arhasi*).

59. Its construction with *glāni* occurs in H. 2.88.75 (Chitrashara Press).

60. Its construction with *utkalikā* (= *hṛl-lekhā*, comm.) occurs in *Kādambarī* p. 373, line 10 (*utkalikāveśāt*).

61. For its construction with *lajjā*, cf. H. (Chitrashara Press) 3.115.39 (*lajjā-samāviṣṭa*).

62. We have also a compound *bhakti-rasāveśa* in KSS. 25.230.

63. *yoga-kṣema* is construed with the verb in its negative context, *yoga-kṣemā hi bahavo rāṣṭraṃ nāsyāviśanti tat* (MBh. 13.61.39).

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epidemics, famine etc.) — all those under the impact of *force majeure* are termed *āviṣṭa*. We discern that there are semantic values attached to the verb *ā-viś-*, such as possession, seizure and convulsion, and that its infinite form *āviṣṭa* is almost synonymous with *ākrānta* (seized)[64], *grasta* (stricken)[65], *gṛhīta* (overtaken)[66], *abhibhūta* (overpowered)[67], and *ārūḍha* (ridden)[68].

Another[69] point which should not be overlooked in this connection is that *ā-viś-* appears in the context of a god's incarnation as a human being. At the behest of the sage Uttaṅka, the god Viṣṇu, with a view to destroying the demon Dhundhu, entered (*āviśat*) into king Kuvalāśva,

tam āviśat tato viṣṇur bhagavāṃs tejasā prabhuḥ
uttaṅkasya niyogena lokānāṃ hita-kāmyayā (MBh. 3.195.12 = H. 9.65).

The same god assisted Indra to defeat Vṛtra, entering into (*praviśya*) the foam thrown by Indra at the demon,

savajram atha phenaṃ taṃ kṣipraṃ vṛtre nisṛṣṭavān
praviśya phenaṃ taṃ viṣṇur atha vṛtraṃ vyanāśayat (MBh. 5.10.38)[70]

The divinity of king[71] is authenticated by the fact that the god incarnates (*āviveśa*) himself in the king,

tapasā bhagavān viṣṇur āviveśa ca bhūmipam
devavan naradevānāṃ namate yaj jagan nṛpa (MBh. 12.59.130)[72]

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64. Cf. KSS. 104.65 (*ākrānta iva bhūtena*) and 122.87 (*bhūtākrānta*).

65. Cf. the paraphrase of the word *āviṣṭa* in *Kādambarī*'s commentary p. 474, line 8; p. 525, line 4; p. 534, line 12; and p. 559, line 2 (*bhūta-grasta*).

66. Cf. the paraphrase of *āviṣṭa* in *Kādambarī*'s commentary p. 528, line 11; p. 529, line 10 (*bhūta-gṛhīta*); and *Harṣacarita*'s commentary (*NSP.* 1925) p. 132, line 13 (*bhūtādi-gṛhīta*).

67. Cf. the paraphrase of *āviṣṭa* in *Kādambarī*'s commentary p. 227, line 8 (*bhūtābhibhūta*), and p. 287, line 11 (*bhūtonmāda-vāta-rogābhibhūta*).

68. Cf. M. Hara, *Miscellanea Pāśupatica*, in « Kavirāj Abhinandana Grantha », Lucknow, 1967, pp. 58 ff. (*kāyārohaṇa*). Cf. also *adhiṣṭhita* in *vetālādhiṣṭhita* (KSS. 73.292), *adhiruh-* in MBh. 3.219.52, and *adhyāsa* in paraphrase of *āveśa* in *Kādambarī*'s commentary p. 288, line 2.

69. Words appearing in close relation to *āviṣṭa* (*iva*) are as follows: *graha-gṛhīta* (iva) āviṣṭa (iva) *unmatta* (iva) *bhūtopahata* (iva) (*Kādambarī* p. 309, line 10); *matta* (iva) āviṣṭa (iva) *viyukta* (iva) (*Kādambarī* p. 525, line 4); āviṣṭa (iva) *matta* (iva) *unmādād āpantanta* (*Kādambarī* p. 528, line 11); āviṣṭa (iva) *stambhita* (iva) (*Kādambarī* p. 534, line 12); *andha* (iva) *badhira* (iva) *mūka* (iva) *jaḍa* (iva) āviṣṭa (iva) (*Kādambarī* p. 474, line 8).

One may also note the usage of *āveśa*, which appears in the definition of *apasmāra* in treatises on dramaturgy, for example, in *Daśarūpa* 4.31 (*āveśo graha-duḥkhādyair apasmāro yathāvidhiḥ bhūpāta-kampa-prasveda-lālāphenodgamādayaḥ*). For a further reference, cf. George C. O. Haas, *The Daśarūpa*, New York, 1912, p. 119.

70. Cf. also MBh. 12.272.31 (*aindraṃ samāviśad vajram*).

71. Cf. E. W. Hopkins, *The Divinity of Kings* in JAOS, 51 (1933), p. 314.

72. Cf. also MBh. 3.220.9 (*rudreṇāgniṃ samāviśya svāhām āviśya comayā*); 10.7.64 (*evam uktvā maheśvāsaṃ bhagavān ātmanas tanum āviveśa*); 12.328.33 (*bhārāvataraṇārthaṃ hi praviṣṭau mānuṣīṃ tanum*); 13.103.14 (*sthāṇu-bhūtasya tasyātha jaṭāḥ prāviśad acyutaḥ*); H. 47.25 (*svapna-rūpeṇa teṣāṃ vai viṣṇur dehān athāviśat*).

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The enchanted heroine Mahāśvetā, admiring the handsome Candrāpīḍa, regards this young ascetic as an embodiment of whole moon-beams,

alīkaṃ cedaṃ yathā kila sakalāḥ kalāḥ kalāvato bahula-pakṣe kṣīyamāṇasya suṣumnā-nāmnā raśminā ravir āpibatīti, tāḥ khalv asya gabhastayaḥ samastā vapur idam āviśantīti (Kādambarī p. 266, lines 8 ff., *NSP.* 1928).

In the story of Viṣṇu's incarnation as a boar to save the earth, we also find this same usage of the verb,

kiṃ nu rūpam ahaṃ kṛtvā uddhareyaṃ mahīm imām
jala-krīḍānusadṛśaṃ vārāhaṃ rūpam āviśat
[(Liṅga Purāṇa I.70.125, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1908)

Likewise, we read in the story of Śiva's incarnation as Lakulīśa,

śmaśāne mṛtam utsṛṣṭaṃ dṛṣṭvā kāyam anāthakam
brāhmaṇānāṃ hitārthāya praviṣṭa yoga-māyayā
[(Liṅga Purāṇa 1.24.122)[73].

The god entered the dead body (of a Brahmin), which had been abandoned without care in a cremation-ground, and became, in consequence, Lakulīśa, Śiva incarnate.

III

With the investigation above, let us visualize more concretely the concept expressed by the verb *ā-viś*, using the examples of *krodha* and *manmatha*.

First, in the battle field, when fury (*krodha* or *manyu*) overtakes (*ā-viś-*) an Epic hero, his body becomes pervaded by it throughout, so much so that he looks as if he were possessed by it. Nobody, including himself, could resist this assault of violent emotion, for he is completely overtaken as though he were driven by it. He is fury incarnate, so to speak.

Second, Rāvaṇa, who is captivated by the beauty of Sītā and love-stricken, is depicted as *madanāviṣṭa*. Being a helpless captive of carnal desire, he loses all control over himself, and nobody is able to dissuade him from immoral thoughts. He appears as carnal desire itself.

Indeed, *śraddhā* is not such violent emotional excitement as fury (*krodha* or *manyu*) and carnal desire (*madana*); it is a sort of inclination or volition (*ditsutva*)[74] comparable to *kṛpā* or *kautūhala*. But once

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73. Vāyu Purāṇa (*ASS.* 49) 23.220 has *lokam* for *kāyam*. Cf. M. Hara, *Miscellanea Pāśupatica*, in « Kavirāj Abhinandana Grantha », p. 63, note 23.

74. This is a gloss on the word *śraddhā* given by Śaṅkara *ad Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 3.9.21 (*ASS.* 15, p. 509). Cf. H.-W. Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

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seized (*āviṣṭa*) by it, one may not find it an easy task to avert one's attention toward other directions — especially if the person in question is still a young boy. Naciketas, while beholding the sacrificial gift being led up on the occasion of his father's offering of *sarva-vedas*, was much disturbed by the inadequacy of the gift [75], and consequently seized by *Freigebigkeit*. He became the incarnation of *Spendefreudigkeit* itself. Being *āviṣṭa* by *śraddhā* resulted in his persistent repetition of the same question to his father, twice and thrice, which, in turn, provoked the latter's angry statement, *mṛtyave tvā dadāmi* (« To Death I give you »).

75. Cf. the Epic passage quoted above (MBh. 13.76.5), H.-W. KÖHLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-3 (Kühe allein hält er für eine unvollkommene *dakṣiṇā*), and H. D. VELANKAR, *The Ṛgvedic Origin of the Story of Naciketas* (RV. X.135), in « Mélanges d'Indianisme à la mémoire de L. Renou », Paris, 1968, p. 765 (indirectly suggesting that the *dakṣiṇā* which was being offered was a fraud...).

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OSKAR VON HINÜBER

ÜBER DREI BEGRIFFE DER BUDDHISTISCHEN RECHTSSPRACHE: *ISSARAVATĀ, GĪVĀ* UND *BHAṆḌADEYYA*

Das Critical Pāli Dictionary[1] stützt sich bei dem Ansatz « arrogance, overbearingness » für *issaravatā* auf zwei Stellen aus der Rechtsliteratur (Samantapāsādikā 382, 1 und Vinayavinicchaya 441) und auf eine aus der Atthasālinī 109, 33. Dieselbe Bedeutung wird für *issarabhāva*[2] angenommen, das in der Vimativinodanī (Be) I 202, 24 *issaravatā* erklärt. Während bereits der unter *issar[iy]abhāva*, ifc., zitierte Beleg: *abhiseko viya rañño sabbalokissarabhāvaṃ* (sc. *deti*), Sp 139, 19 « wie die Weihe dem König Souveränität über die ganze Welt gibt » Zweifel an der Richtigkeit der angegebenen Bedeutung aufkommen lässt, kann man aus der Samantapāsādikā an anderen, vom CPD nicht herangezogenen Stellen[3], die technische Bedeutung von *issaravatā* deutlich erkennen[4]. Wenig ergiebig ist der im Artikel *issaravatā* ausführlich zitierte Abschnitt aus dem Kommentar zum zweiten Pārājika (Vin III 60, 27-61, 17), das den Ausschluss eines Mönches bestimmt, wenn dieser einen Diebstahl (*adinnādāna*) begeht: *senāsanatthāya niyamitaṃ kulasaṅgahaṇatthāya dadato dukkaṭaṃ issaravatāya thullaccayaṃ theyyacittena pārājikaṃ,*

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1. V. Trenckner, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Copenhagen, vol. I, 1924-48, vol. II, 1-10, 1960-79.

2. So ist stets statt *issariyabhāva* zu lesen: Verf., *Bemerkungen zum Critical Pāli Dictionary* II, KZ 94, 1980, S. 10-31, bes. S. 19 f.

3. Nach: *Samantapāsādikā*, vol. VIII: Indexes to vols. I-VII by H. Kopp, London, o.J. [1978]. Dieser nützliche Index, der nur eine nicht näher charakterisierte Auswahl aus dem Wortschatz der Samantapāsādikā enthält, wird hier aus anderen Indices und eigenen Sammlungen ergänzt.

4. Einmal wird *issaravatā* in einem Vergleich auf einen König bezogen: *rājā issaravatāya visavitāya sāmī hutvā icchiticchitaṃ bhuñjati*, As 110, 3 f., « aufgrund seiner Souveränität und Macht ist der König Herr und geniesst, was immer erwünscht ist ». Das Wort *visavitā* gehört dem Kommentatorenpāli an und ist aus dem wohl missverstandenen Hapax *visavī*, DN III 170, 10* abgeleitet. Es wird mit *ciṇṇavasī*, Sv 938, 5 « mächtig » glossiert (vgl. auch Sv-ṭ III 157, 13 f.; II 143, 18 und Paṭis-a 655, 21-25). Vielleicht ist *visavī* mit metrischer Kürzung aus **vissavī* zu *viśvavid* « allwissend » zu stellen. Zum Metrum von DN III 170.10*: *Saddanīti*, S. 1168, 8.7.1, 14.

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Sp 381, 32-382, 2~626, 13 « wenn [ein Mönch] für das Mobiliar Bestimmtes weggibt, um sich eine Familie geneigt zu machen, liegt ein *dukkaṭa*-Vergehen vor; wenn [er es] aufgrund von *issaravatā* [gibt], liegt ein *thullaccaya*-Vergehen vor; wenn er es im Gedanken zu stehlen [gibt], liegt ein *pārājika*-Vergehen vor ». Während man hier immerhin wegen der Parallelität zu *theyyacittena* vermuten darf, dass auch *issaravatāya* eine technische Bedeutung in der Rechtssprache hat, so tritt das an drei weiteren Stellen deutlich hervor: *bhikkhusaṅghaṃ abhibhavitvā issaravatāya vissajjento thullaccayaṃ āpajjati*, Sp 485, 8 f. « wer den Mönchsorden übergeht und aus *issaravatā* weggibt, begeht ein *thullaccaya*-Vergehen ». Ein Mönch, der aus *issaravatā* handelt, setzt sich also über den Orden, dem eigentlich diese Verfügungsmacht zukommt, hinweg, indem er sich diese anmasst, oder sie sich durch Umgehung des Ordens zu erschleichen versucht: *bahi upacārasīmāya nisīditvā issaravatāya paribhuñjato gīvā*, Sp 382, 3 f. « wenn er sich ausserhalb der « Umgebungsgrenze »[5] niederlässt und aufgrund der [dadurch erschlichenen] Verfügungsmacht [eine Frucht] geniesst, ist er zu Schadenersatz verpflichtet »[6]. Hier versucht der Mönch also, die Verfügungsmacht über dem Orden innerhalb einer *upacārasīmā* geschenkte, und daher allen Mönchen gemeinsam gehörige Früchte zu erlangen, indem er sie ausserhalb dieser *sīmā* verzehrt.

Eine andere Sachlage ergibt sich, wenn ein Mönch mit Speise, die dem *saṃgha* gehört, Räuber bewirtet und sie damit verpflichtet, den Laien ungehinderten Zugang zu einem *cetiya* zu gewähren: *bhikkhusaṅghe khīyanakakathā uppannā*: *thero issaravatāya saṅghassa santakaṃ corānaṃ adāsi*, Sp 474, 23-25 « innerhalb des Mönchsordens wurde ein Tadelsantrag vorgebracht: Der *thera* hat aus [angemasster] Verfügungsgewalt Eigentum des *saṃgha* an Räuber gegeben ». Da der beschuldigte Mönch jedoch nachweisen kann, dass er so anderes, wertvolleres Eigentum des Ordens geschützt hat, wird der Vorwurf zurückgenommen: *therena katapaṭisanthāro sukato, codetuṃ vā sāretuṃ vā na labbhati, gīvā vā avahāro vā n'atthi*, Sp 475, 1-3 « die durch den *thera* vorgenommene freundliche Aufnahme war richtig. Es gibt keinen Anlass, ihn zu tadeln oder zu ermahnen. Weder muss Schadenersatz geleistet werden, noch liegt ein Diebstahl vor ».

Der Mönch wird also von einem doppelten Vorwurf gereinigt: Hätte er Eigentum des *saṃgha* gestohlen, oder sich auch nur *theyyacittena*

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5. Eine *sīmā* « Grenze » umreisst das Gebiet, aus dem sich alle Mönche vollzählig zu bestimmten Handlungen des *saṃgha* wie etwa dem *uposatha* versammeln müssen. Die *upacārasīmā* wird Kkh 59, 26-36 definiert, wobei diese Definition analog nach der im Kanon gegebenen Definition des *gāmupacāra*, Vin III 46, 27-30 mit Sp 299, 4-301, 8 gestaltet ist.

6. Im Kommentar zu Sp wird diese Regel ausgeweitet: *na kevalaṃ etth'eva gīvā, heṭṭhā kulasaṅgahaṇatthāya issaravatāya vā dinne pi gīvā yeva*, Sp-ṭ (Be) II 164, 19 f. « nicht nur hier ist Schadenersatz zu leisten, auch [in den] unten (sc. oben Sp 381, 32-382, 2) [erwähnten Fällen], wenn er um die Gunst einer Familie werbend oder aus [angemasster] Verfügungsmacht gibt, ist Schadenersatz zu leisten ».

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« in der Absicht zu stehlen » angeeignet, müsste er nun nach dem zweiten Pārājika aus dem Orden ausgestossen werden. Hätte er nur *issaravatāya* « aus [angemasster] Verfügungsmacht » gehandelt, wäre er zu Schadenersatz verpflichtet.

Es lässt sich also zeigen, dass *issaravatā* in der Sprache der Rechtslehrer des Theravāda « [angemasste] Verfügungsmacht » bedeutet. Dies stimmt zu der im CPD zitierten, in seiner Bedeutung aber nicht erkannten Aussage der Vimativinodanī zu diesem Begriff, der sich ein paralleler Abschnitt aus der Sāratthadīpanī hinzufügen lässt: *paraṃ āpucchitvā vā anāpucchitvā vā dātabbakiccaṃ n'atthi. aham*[7] *ev' ettha pamāṇan ti evaṃ attano issarabhāvena*, Sp-ṭ (Be) II 164, 16 f. « Nachdem weder ein anderer gefragt noch nicht gefragt ist, findet keine förmliche Schenkung statt. In dem Gedanken "ich bin hier der Massgebliche" [gibt] er aufgrund der eigenen Verfügungsmacht »[8]. In nicht technischem Kontext heisst *issaravatā*, dessen Wortbildung nicht ganz klar ist[9], wie das synonyme *issarabhāva* « Souveränität ».

Neben dem Terminus *issaravatā* erscheint an den beiden letzten, aus der Samantapāsādikā herangezogenen Stellen ein zweiter, *gīvā*, der den europäischen Pāli-Wörterbüchern unbekannt geblieben ist. Dieses Homonym zu *gīvā* « Hals » kommt, soweit erkennbar, seit der Samantapāsādikā in der Vinaya-Literatur vor und war in seiner genauen Bedeutung offenbar nur den Kennern der Rechtsschriften vertraut. Denn die Abhidhānappadīkā lehrt nicht ganz richtig: *iṇe gīvā gale ca*, Abh 1129 « *gīvā* heisst "Schuld" und "Hals" »[10], wobei die Quelle für dieses Missverständnis erkennbar ist: *no ce deti sabbaṃ iṇaṃ gīvā*, Sp 999, 26 « Wenn der [ordinierende Mönch den von ihm ordinierten Schuldner dem Gläubiger] nicht herausgibt, unterliegt die gesamte Schuld dem Schadenersatz [durch den Mönch] ». Das Pāli-Birmanische Wörtebuch[11] zitiert dagegen aus dem Kommentar zum 358. Vers der Khuddasikkhā: *gīvā 'ssa daṇḍite daṇḍo*, Khuddas XLI. 25 = S. 111, 21 « seine Strafe ist, wenn er bestraft wird, Schadenersatz »: *gīvā va bhaṇḍadeyyaṃ hoti*, in dem *gīvā* mit *bhaṇḍadeyya* gleichgesetzt wird.

Der hier eingeführte, in den Wörterbüchern ebenfalls nicht verzeichnete Begriff *bhaṇḍadeyya* wird von der Samantapāsādikā definiert: *bhaṇḍadeyyaṃ nāma yaṃ parassa naṭṭhaṃ, tassa mūlaṃ vā, tad eva vā bhaṇḍaṃ dātabhaṃ*, Sp 319, 19 f. « Schadenersatz bedeutet: der Preis dessen, das einem anderen verloren gegangen ist, oder ein identischer Gegenstand muss gegeben werden ».

Es fäll auf, dass die Samantapāsādikā zwei Begriffe für Schadenersatz kennt, die in verwandten Formeln ganz parallel verwendet

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7. *ayaṃ* in Be 1960 ist ein Duckfehler.
8. *issaravatāya* ist ferner Sp 1406, 3 belegt.
9. Denkbar ist *issara-vat-tā*, cf. *tāvatva*, Sadd 791, 11 mit. Anm. 10.
10. Entsprechend missversteht Waskaḍuwē Subhūti *gīvā*: « debt, throat », *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, 3rd ed., Colombo, 1900, S. 169.
11. *Tipiṭaka Pāḷi-Mranmā Abhidhān*, vol. VI: *kilesa-ṅakāra*, Rangun, 1972.

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werden: *n'eva avahāro na gīvā*, Sp 319, 28 f. « weder liegt ein Diebstahl vor, noch ist Schadenersatz zu leisten » und entsprechend: *n'eva atthi avahāro bhaṇḍadeyyaṃ pana hoti*, Sp 334, 4 f. oder *n'eva bhaṇḍadeyyaṃ na pārājikaṃ*, Sp 360, 2 f. und *n'eva gīvā na āpatti*, Sp 909, 12, 29. Diese Formel macht zugleich deutlich, dass *gīvā*/*bhaṇḍadeyya* als weltliche Rechtsbegriffe dem geistlichen *āpatti* gegenüberstehen [12].

Nur einer der beiden Begriffe, nämlich *bhaṇḍdadeyya*, dessen Verwendung in der Samantapāsādikā zudem auf den Kommentar zum zweiten Pārājika beschränkt ist, wird definiert, während der andere, *gīvā*, dessen Belege sich über den gesamten Text verteilen, als bekannt vorausgesetzt ist. Dass *gīvā* « Schadenersatz » bedeutet, ergibt sich ausser durch die Gleichsetzung mit *bhaṇḍadeyya* aus dem jeweiligen Kontext: *tassa tasmiṃ naṭṭhe pi jiṇṇe pi thenāya avahaṭe pi gīvā na hoti*, Sp 391, 1 f. ~ 5 ~ 667, 10 ~ 779, 28-31 ~ 1132, 2 ~ 1248, 13-22 [13] « dieser [Mönch] braucht, wenn dieses [Bett] zerstört wird, verschlissen wird oder durch Diebstahl abhanden kommt, keinen Schadenersatz zu leisten ». Die Verteilung und die Häufigkeit der Belege von *gīvā* lassen zusammen mit der fehlenden Definition den Schluss zu, dass *gīvā* der Quelle, aus der die Samantapāsādikā hauptsächlich schöpft, nämlich der Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā, angehört [14].

Eine Überprüfung der Stellen, an denen *bhaṇḍadeyya* erscheint, lässt einen deutlichen Bezug zu anderen Vorläufern der Samantapāsādikā erkennen. Einmal wird *bhaṇḍadeyya* ausdrücklich aus der Kurundī (Sp 319, 31) und zweimal aus der Mahāpaccarī (Sp 377, 15; 386, 13, 15) zitiert. Ausserdem steht dies Wort in Textabschnitten, die die Kurundī (Sp 345, 28 vgl. 346, 2; 350, 15 vgl. 351, 5; 359, 31 und 360, 2 vgl. 359, 14) oder die Mahāpaccarī (Sp 319, 13) erwähnen. Die Samantapāsādikā entnimmt also diesen beiden, sich nahestehenden Kommentaren [15] den Begriff *bhaṇḍadeyya*, wenn die Ansichten dieser Werke zitiert oder paraphrasiert werden. Wenn es so gelingt, die beiden Begriffe verschiedenen Quellen zuzuordnen, so kann man auch für die Textabschnitte, in denen *bhaṇḍadeyya* ohne direkten oder indirekten Bezug auf Kurundī

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12. In gleicher Weise steht dem geistlichen Begriff für « Rechtsfall, Prozess »: *adhikaraṇa* der weltliche *aṭṭa* gegenüber, vgl. Sp. 906, 24 f. was weder im CPD s.v. *adhikaraṇa* (b) noch bei M. D'Onza Chiodo-E. Panattoni, Pāli *aṭṭa*, in « Indologica Taurinensia », V, 1977, S. 69-84 klar erkannt ist.

13. Ferner steht *gīvā* « Schadenersatz »: Sp 294, 11; 1255, 30-1256, 23; *gīvākicca*, Sp 1256, 1. Im Index zu Sp ist *gīvā* « Hals » nicht von « Schadenersatz » getrennt.

14. Aus sprachlichen Erwägungen gehört *gīvā* sicher der Sihaḷa-Aṭṭhakathā an, da es im Singhalesischen durch *gevīma* « Schadenersatz », dem Verbalnomen zu *gevanavā* « bezahlen », fortgesetzt wird. Dies *gevanavā* ist gegen W. Geiger, *An Etymological Glossary of the Sinhalese Language*, Colombo, 1941, mit R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London, 1966, No. 3741 *kṣepayati* von *gevanavā* « die Zeit verbringen » zu trennen. — Zum Lautlichen vgl. *vīṇā* > *veṇa*, *bhīma* > *bem*: W. Geiger, *A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*, Colombo, 1938, § 32.2.

15. E. W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1946, S. 12.

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oder Mahāpaccarī erscheint, annehmen, dass sie aus eben diesen untergegangenen Werken stammen [16].

Allen drei Kommentaren gemeinsam ist die Rechtsauffassung, dass ein Mönch in bestimmten Fällen zu Schadenersatz verpflichtet ist. Dem Vinayapiṭaka, das noch von der Besitzlosigkeit der Mönche ausgeht, ist diese Vorstellung fremd. Wie der Gedanke der Haftung von Mönchen aufkam, und wie ein derartiger Anspruch durchgesetzt werden konnte, müsste im Rahmen einer weitausholenden Rechtsgeschichte des Theravāda-Buddhismus geklärt werden [17]. Hier ging es allein darum, den Inhalt der Begriffe *issaravatā*, *bhaṇḍadeyya* und *gīvā* zu bestimmen. Durch die Zuordnung der beiden Wörter für Schadenersatz zu bestimmten Texten konnte zugleich zum erstenmal ein Instrument geschaffen werden, mit dem sich auch ohne direktes Zitat Quellen der Samantapāsādikā ausmachen lassen.

16. Ebenso dürfte *bhaṇḍadeyya* in der Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī, im Vinayavinicchaya und im Vinayasaṃgaha (Palimuttakavinayavinicchayaṭīkā) auf diese beiden Kommentare als Quellen der jeweiligen Abschnitte deuten.

17. Ein wichtiger Schritt auf diesem Wege wird die geplante Erarbeitung eines Wörterbuchs der Rechtsterminologie des Pāli bedeuten, vgl. D'Onza Chiodo-Panattoni, a.a.O. (Anm. 12), S. 69.

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J. W. DE JONG

THE SANSKRIT TEXT OF THE ṢAḌDANTĀVADĀNA*

The story of the six-tusked elephant is found in Pāli, Sanskrit, and Chinese sources. It has been studied by Léon Feer and Alfred Foucher[1]. A Sanskrit version is found in the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā* (K) and in two manuscripts of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (AK) in the University Library in Cambridge. However, in these two manuscripts this story is a later addition[2]. The Paris and Cambridge manuscripts of K contain 29 stories. The 25th is the *Ṣaḍdantāvadāna*. Another manuscript of K, belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, goes back to a different recension and does not include the *Ṣaḍdantāvadāna*[3]. In the Paris and Cambridge manuscripts of K the *Ṣaḍdantāvadāna* consists of 224 verses. The AK version of the story is made up out of the following 110 verses of these 224 verses: 5, 59-123, 144-161, 166-184, 190 and 193-198. Eight verses (A-G in the following edition) have been added but most of them are base upon corresponding verses in the K version: A see 7ab and 10ab, B see 10cd and 11cd, D see 55a and 57cd, E see 58, G see 165, H see 191. Verses A-G are added between the following verses: A-E Between 5 and 59, F between 123 and 144, G between 161 and 166 and H between 190 and 193.

The Paris manuscript of K is much more carefully written than the Cambridge manuscript, which, for instance, often omits visargas and

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1. For a bibliography see ÉT. LAMOTTE, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse*, Tome II, Louvain, 1949, pp. 716-17.

2. Cf. *The Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā and the Ṣaḍdantāvadāna, Buddhist Thought and Asian Civilization. Essays in Honor of Herbert V. Guenther on his Sixtieth Birthday*, Emeryville 1977, pp. 27-38.

3. Cf. RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1882, pp. 290-301; YUTAKA IWAMOTO, *Bukkyō setsuwa kenkyū josetsu*, Kyōto, 1967, pp. 169-170.

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other final letters. In the critical apparatus these and other unimportant misspellings in the Cambridge manuscript have not been noted. Of the two Cambridge manuscripts of AK the first (A) is an old manuscript, written in 1302, but corrected by another hand. The second (B) is a modern manuscript of secondary importance [4].

Speyer, who edited the *Avadāna* of Subhūti (the 10th story of K) on the basis of the Paris and Calcutta manuscripts, remarked that the two manuscripts appear to be independent from each other, though they go back to a common source [5]. Different readings in several verses (59d, 69a, 111b, 156a, 167c and 194a) show that the AK version of the story is based upon a slightly different recension.

In the following edition of the *Ṣaḍdantāvadāna* several problems remain unsolved. It is perhaps useful to list the verses which are unsatisfactory from the point of view of either the text itself, or its meaning, or, finally, the metre: 13b, 29a, 52c (*pradattvā*), 74, 78c, 83b, 112c (read *paṇḍitākhyasya*?), 120cd, 133a (*rasāvarṇī*), 144c (read *-lakṣyo*?), 181c, 185cd, Cd (*sakṣaṇaiḥ*), 200c (metre), 200d (*saṃsārāgramanu-*), 210b (*moho*?), 216d (read *nar(a)kāc*?), 224d (read *(a)mita-*?), 224d (*pramodāḥ*).

The numbers of the verses found also in the AK version are printed in italics.

atha rājā nṛpo 'śokaḥ punar evaṃ pramoditaḥ /
upaguptaṃ guruṃ natvā kṛtāñjalipuṭo 'bravīt // 1
bhadanta śrotum icchāmi punar anyat subhāṣitam /
sarvasattvahitārthāya tat pravaktuṃ samarhasi // 2
iti vijñāpite tena rājñāśokena bhūbhujā /
upagupto yatīndro 'sau punar evam abhā (P 233a) ṣata // 3
śṛṇu rājan mahābāho yathā me guruṇoditam /
tava prītyā tathedānīṃ vakṣye 'haṃ tat samāsataḥ // 4
śvāsāyāsair jvalati sujanāvarjane durjanāgnis
tenaivāsau kanakakalayā śuddhim āyāti sādhuḥ /
ratnaṃ bhāti prakharamukha (A 199+a) rakrūraśānāvagharṣaiḥ
kāntir vyaktiṃ vrajati ca rajomārjanair darpaṇasya // 5

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4. Cf. *Textcritical Remarks on the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, Tokyo, 1979, pp. 4-5.

5. J. S. Speyer, *Avadānaśataka*, St.-Petersburg, 1902-09, p. XXXVII.

Abbreviations

A AK Cambridge MS Add. 1306. Cf. C. Bendall, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1883, pp. 41-43.
B AK Cambridge MS Add. 913. Cf. Bendall, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20.
C K Cambridge MS Add. 1590. Cf. Bendall, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
P K Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds sanscrit nos. 26-27. Cf. Jean Filliozat, *Catalogue du fonds sanscrit*, Fascicule 1, Paris, 1941, pp. 14-15.

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tadyathā ca puraikaismin samaye 'sau tathāgataḥ /
saṃbuddho bhagavāṃ lokahitaṃ kartum upācarat // 6
campāpuryā upāraṇye gargakhātābjinītaṭe /
jināśrame mahodyāne vijahāra sasāṃghikaḥ // 7
tatrāpi sarvalokaiś ca sadevāsuramānuṣaiḥ /
lokapālagaṇaiś cāpi parivāragaṇaiḥ saha // 8
sa rājāmātyapauraiś ca parivṛtaḥ puraskṛtaḥ /
satkṛto mānito nityaṃ pūjitaḥ saṃpravāritaḥ // 9
śakrapramukhadevendraiś caturbhiś cāpi rājabhiḥ /
maharṣibhiś ca juṣṭāyāṃ sabhāyāṃ samupasthitaḥ // 10
ratnasiṃhāsanāsīnaḥ saṃbuddho bhagavāñ jinaḥ /
ādimadhyāntakalyāṇaṃ dideśa dharmam uttamam // 11
atrāntare sa pāpiṣṭho devadatto 'timatsarī /
bhikṣucaryāṃ samāśritya tatrāpi samupāyayau // 12
gatvā sa sahasā tatra kṣapaṇakāśramam āśritaḥ /
atha kṣapaṇakān sarvān samupetyābravīt tathā // 13
bhavantaḥ śrūyatāṃ vākyaṃ yan mayā hitaṃ bhāṣitam /
hitaṃ vāpy ahitaṃ vā no (C 236a) bhavadbhis tad vicāryatām // 14
yo hy asau śramaṇo buddhaḥ sarvajñaḥ sugato yatiḥ /
saṃbuddho bhagavāñ chāstā dharmarājas tathāgataḥ // 15
ṣaḍabhijño mahāyogī sarvalokavināyakaḥ /
deśe deśe ca sarvatra sarvāñ jitvābhimānikaḥ // 16
mahato 'pi janāñ chreṣṭhān yatīṃś ca brahmacāriṇaḥ
tapasvino maharṣīṃś ca tīrthikān brāhmaṇān api // 17
ṛddhyā jitvā vaśī (P 233b) kṛtya svaśāsane niveśayan /
svadharme saṃpratiṣṭhāpya bhikṣūn kurvaṃs tathācarat // 18
atrāpi ca samāyāto bhavato 'pi jigīṣayā /
tad bhavadbhiḥ samādhānaṃ kartavyaṃ hi samantataḥ // 19
bhavanto 'py atra śāstāraḥ sarvaśāstrārthakovidāḥ /
sarvavidyākalāvijñā mahābhijñā viśāradāḥ // 20
niḥkleśā yogino dhīrā brahmavido jitendriyāḥ /
māyādharmavinirmuktā nirlepāś ca nirañjanāḥ // 21
sarājāmātyalokaiś ca paurikaiḥ samahājanaiḥ /
satkṛtā mānitā nityaṃ vandyamānāś ca pūjitāḥ // 22
stūyamānāś ca sarvaiś ca gurukṛtāḥ praśaṃsitāḥ /
śraddhayopasthitā nityaṃ sarvopakaraṇair api // 23
evaṃ sarve mahāntaḥ stha maheśākhyā yatīśvarāḥ /
arhanto viditātmānaḥ svadharme saṃpratiṣṭhitāḥ // 24
tat kathaṃ śaraṇaṃ gatvā śramaṇasya vaśe sthitāḥ /
svadharmapatitā bhraṣṭāḥ praśobhedhvaṃ hi nighnitāḥ // 25
avaśyaṃ bhavataḥ sarvāñ jitvā 'sau sarvathā jinaḥ /
svaśāsane vaśīkṛtya kuryād bhikṣūn balād api // 26
yadi yūyaṃ haṭhāt tasya śaraṇaṃ na gamiṣyatha /
nigrāhitvā balenāsau narake vo nipātayet // 27
tataḥ sarve 'pi yūyaṃ tu parikhinnās tapasvinaḥ /
ihāmutra paribhraṣṭā vicaredhvaṃ mahītale // 28

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kiṃ teṣāṃ balair vīryair guṇair mantraiḥ samṛddhibhiḥ /
ṛddhi (C 236b) siddhiprabhāvaiś ca ye caranti ripor vaśe // 29
iti mayā hitaṃ proktaṃ bhavatāṃ hitakāraṇe /
tat suguptaṃ samādhāya saṃcaradhvaṃ samāhitāḥ // 30
ity asau pratibhāṣyaitān sarvān kṣapaṇakāṃs tathā /
devadatto yatī bhikṣuḥ svam āśramam upāśrayat // 31
iti tenoditaṃ śrutvā sarve kṣapaṇakā api /
vismayoddhatacittās te viṣāditā niṣedire // 32
tatra ye sādhavo dhīrāḥ saddharmaguṇavāñchitāḥ /
sā (P 234a) dhu śroṣyāmahe dharmam iti harṣān niṣedire // 33
tatra ye madhyamāḥ kecit saṃbuddhaguṇakautukāt /
vismayatrāsaviṣaṇṇāḥ saṃkṣubhitā niṣedire // 34
ye cāpare mahāduṣṭā matsarākrāntacetasaḥ /
madamānābhiṣaṅgās te sarve tv evaṃ pralepire // 35
kva vāsau śramaṇo buddhaḥ kva vayaṃ brahmavedinaḥ /
kiṃ tasya vidyate jñānaṃ vayam evātra yoginaḥ // 36
ko vā tasya guruḥ śāstā sa āgacchatu no 'grataḥ /
kiṃ tena vaditum śakyam asmākaṃ purato hi kaḥ // 37
athātraika upāyajñaḥ kaścit kṣapaṇako yatiḥ /
tān sarvān samupāmantrya dṛṣṭvaivaṃ pratyabhāṣata // 38
śṛṇudhvaṃ madvaco yūyaṃ mayā yat tat pravakṣyate /
yenāsya śramaṇasyāpi yaśodīptir nipātyate // 39
mānino hi yaśoghāte hatā iva vibhagnitāḥ /
nirutsāhā nirālambā gaccheyur maraṇaṃ dhruvam // 40
śramaṇo 'yaṃ mahādhīraḥ ṣaḍabhijño jineśvaraḥ /
yena māragaṇāñ jitvā saddharmaṃ saṃprakāśitam // 41
tathātra śramaṇo bhikṣuḥ sarvalokavināyakaḥ /
sarvāṃl lokān vinirjitya svadharme saṃniveśayet // 42
asmān api tathā jitvā vaśīkartum ihāgataḥ /
tad avaśyaṃ munīndro 'yaṃ śrāvakān no hariṣyati // 43
yady atra saṃsthitaś cāyaṃ saddharmaṃ saṃprakāśayet /
sarvāṃl lokān vaśīkṛtya kuryāt svaśrāvakān khalu // 44
tato 'mībhir janaiḥ sarvaiḥ saṃrpātmā (C 237a) tyapaurikaiḥ /
satkṛto mānito nityaṃ samuddīptayaśā bhavet // 45
tato 'smān sarvathā jitvā svavaśe 'sau nayiṣyati /
kenāyaṃ śakyate jetuṃ guṇavīryaparākramaiḥ // 46
naivātra vidyate kaścit tridhātubhuvaneṣv api /
yaḥ śaknuyāj jinaṃ jetuṃ guṇadharmaparākramaiḥ // 47
tasmād asya yaśāṃsy evaṃ ghātayitvā prayatnataḥ /
guṇamāno vighātavyas tad upāyais tu śakyate // 48
anyais tu vividhopāyair vije (P 234b) tuṃ na śakyate /
jino hi bhagavān dhīraḥ sarvamāyāvicakṣaṇaḥ // 49
tad upāyaṃ kariṣyāmi tasya yaśovighātane /
mātra yūyaṃ viṣaṇṇāḥ sta nirāśaṅkāḥ prasīdata // 50
iti tenoditaṃ śrutvā sarve te yatayo 'pi tat /
anumodya tathāstv evaṃ kuruṣveti babhāṣire // 51

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athāsau kṣapaṇo 'py atra kāminīṃ sundarīṃ rahaḥ /
samāmantrya suvastrāṇi pradattvā samabhāṣata // 52
vatse 'yaṃ śramaṇo bhikṣur asmaddharmavinindakaḥ /
asmatkulavināśārtham iha saṃghaiḥ sahāgataḥ // 53
tataḥ svakularakṣārthaṃ yaśas tasya vighātaye /
bhavatī tatsabhāmadhye gatvaivaṃ saṃprabhāṣatām // 54
tvatta eva sagarbhāsmi tat kathaṃ pratipadyate /
tvam evaṃ karuṇāvādī satyaṃ cara dayānidhe // 55
kvacic cāpi janaiḥ pṛṣṭe sarvatra ca samantataḥ /
jinabījāt prajāto me garbho 'yam iti kathyatām // 56
iti vākyair jinendro 'sau paribhāṣya sadā tvayā /
pātanīyo yaśo hatvā dīptir yenāsya śāmyati // 57
ity anarthārthinā tena prārthitā taruṇī rahaḥ /
vastrāntar dārupātreṇa garbhaṃ kṛtvā kṛśodarī // 58
khalamaitrīva capalā krūrā durjanadhīr iva /
cañcāmānavikā nāma śanais tatheti sā yayau // 59
bibhrāṇā prakaṭaṃ vyājarāgavṛttam ivāṃśukam /
abhicārahutasyāgneḥ śikhākhaṇḍam ivāruṇam // 60
(C 237b) vadantī vakratvaṃ lalitavalitabhrūvilasitair
dadhānā tīkṣṇatvaṃ taralanayanāpāṅgayugale /
vahantī saṃ (A 199+b) gharṣoddhatakucayugakṣmākaṭhinatāṃ
svabhāvaṃ lolatvān nijam iva nināya prakaṭatām // 61
iyaṃ pāpīyasī yāti śāstuḥ śātayituṃ yaśaḥ /
karṇasparśam itīvāsyāś cakratur locane muhuḥ // 62
nirlajjā lajjamāneva sā vyājavi (P 235a) natānanā /
upasṛtya śanair vātaloleva viṣavallarī // 63
tasthau bhagavataḥ pārśve paśyantīnāṃ savismayam /
tapovanakuraṅgīṇāṃ harantī netracāpalam // 64
sarvajñas tāṃ samālokya māyāṃ mohamayīm iva /
adyāpy asyāḥ paridveṣaśeṣo 'sāv ity acintayat // 65
pragalbhāpy apragalbheva sā śanair mṛduvādinī /
ūce dantāṃśukacchannamukhī līneva lajjayā // 66
śīlaviplavaśāpo 'yaṃ tāpo vā strījanocitaḥ /
agre yad atyanucitaṃ sūcyate mahatām api // 67
praṇayaprārthitāḥ pūrvaṃ paścāt parihṛtādarāḥ /
striyo rahasyabhedinyo bhavanti vigatatrapāḥ // 68
anena guruṇā śāstrā satāṃ dharmopadeśinā /
ahaṃ vratavatī svairam ukte (A 200+a) na kim ataḥ param // 69
anyadarśanayuktāyā vidveṣād yadi viplavaḥ /
kṛtaḥ satām amānena tat kim asya guṇocitam // 70
(B 87b) tāruṇye vratasaṃyuktā vrate śīlavināśitā /
śīlabhraṃśe sagarbhāham aho dhig mām adhaścyutām // 71
sarvopadeṣṭā bhagavān eṣa eva bravītu me /
āsannaprasavā bālā kiṃ karomy aniketanā // 72
prasavāyaiva me tāvat saṃvidhānaṃ vidhīyatām /
jātaḥ śiśuś cet ko doṣaḥ so 'pi śāstā bhaviṣyati // 73

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saṃvāde yadi me khedaṃ spṛśaty eṣa mahāyaśāḥ /
tat kiṃ saṅgamavāmāya kāmāya na prakupyati // 74
maunakopād bhagavatas tanutyāgaṃ karomy a (C 238a) ham /
ārādhyāḥ kiṃ virodhyante prāṇadhāraṇacintayā // 75
svārthakāle prasannāya parārthe kupitāya ca /
namaḥ kāruṇyapūrṇāya jināya jitamanyave // 76
vratatyāgodvegaḥ svajanaviditaḥ śīlavirahaḥ
samāsanno garbhaprasavasamayaḥ saṃśayamayaḥ /
iti kleśaśreṇīṃ katham iva sahante paravipad-
viśoke loke 'smin kusumasukumārā yuvatayaḥ // 77
iti (P 235b) tasyā bruvāṇāyāḥ prasṛtā dantacandrikā /
(A 200+b) cakre satyamukhāmbhojamaṇḍalākāramīlanam // 78
jinopavījane śakraḥ kṣaṇaṃ niścalacāmaraḥ /
tanmāyāvismayenaiva prayayau nirnimeṣatām // 79
cakāra varuṇaḥ prodyatkapolasvedabindubhiḥ /
vyājavākyam ivākarṇya karṇaprakṣālanaṃ muhuḥ // 80
vahner manyuvaśeneva taptasyāsatyabhāsaṇāt /
śyāmālā dhūmamāleva babhrāma bhṛkuṭīmukhe // 81
tasyāḥ krūranikāre 'pi nirvikāraṃ jināṇanam /
dṛṣṭvā kuverapramukhā mukhāni dadṛśur mithaḥ // 82
caṇḍakopollasatkampagaṇḍatāṇḍavikuṇḍalāḥ /
kṣiti (B 88a) pālāḥ kṣaṇaṃ cakruḥ kṣapaṇakṣapaṇe matim // 83
mukhendumaṇḍale śāstur bhikṣūṇāṃ nyastacakṣuṣām /
puraḥ prakopatimiraṃ jātaṃ jātaṃ aśīryata // 84
tataḥ surapatiḥ kopān nirmame mūṣakadvayam /
yābhyāṃ kṛttaṃ papātāsya dārupātraṃ nibandhanāt // 85
pracyutaṃ dadṛśuḥ sarve dārupātraṃ mahītale /
manorathaṃ tīrthikānām iva cchinnāvalambanam // 86
sahasā patite tasmin hāhākāre samutthite /
nimimīla tuṣāreṇa mlānā paṅkajinīva sā // 87
aho dagdhāsmi daghāsmīty uktvā prajvaliteva sā
kṣaṇāt tenaiva dehena papāta narakānale // 88
tato jagāda sarvajña (A 201+a)s tatpāpaśravaṇodbhavam /
śamayann iva saṃtāpaṃ dantendukiraṇair diśām // 89
pātakena duruktena patitaiṣā tapasvinī /
kiṃ kurma (C 238b) karma nābhuktaṃ kṣīyate kila kālavat // 90
abhūj janmāntare 'py eṣā sadveṣā sutarāṃ mayi /
adyāpi doṣaśeṣeṇa tenaiva paritāpitā // 91
kriyate kiṃ sadaivāste rāgadveṣādivāsanā /
antaḥ sūteva jantūnāṃ prāgjanmāntarasaṃtatā // 92
taptasya ka (P 236a) rmakalitasya vikhaṇḍitasya
rūpāntareṣv api punaḥ punar āhatasya /
sīsopamasya hi malaṃ malinasya jantor
naiva kṣayaṃ kṣapaṇayuktiśataiḥ prayāti // 93
viṣoṣmā nirvāṇaṃ vrajati maṇimantrauṣadhibalaiḥ
praśāntiṃ nīyante jvaladanalamālāś ca salilaiḥ /

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na yatnair apy eṣa praśamam akṛśadveṣadahanaḥ
prayāty antaḥśāyī janavanamanaḥkoṭaragataḥ // 94
purā himagireḥ pārśve dakṣiṇe tuhinadyutiḥ / (B 88b)
suvarṇatilakākīrṇaḥ ṣaḍdanto 'bhūd dvipādhipaḥ // 95
tasya bhadrā subhadrā ca kariṇyau prītiśālinaḥ /
viśrambhasubhage bhogasaṃbhogārhe babhūvatuḥ // 96
(A 201+b) kadācit kelisaṃsaktaḥ sa subhadrayā /
mandākinyāṃ sarojinyāṃ vilalāsa vilāsavān // 97
tatkarākṛṣṭahemābjasamuddhūtālimaṇḍalaḥ /
abhūn nabhaḥśriyaḥ sphāramāyūracchatravibhramaḥ // 98
saṃtrāsavidrutās tasya haṃsās taralaviplavaiḥ /
asakṛc cakrire valgukarṇacāmaracārutām // 99
tasya jāyā karākīrṇavāriśīkarapūritā /
bhūṣiteva babhau kumbhasthalīnakṣatramālayā // 100
priyasparśān mīlanmukulitadṛśaḥ srastasaralān
karāgrān muñcantyāḥ sarasavyasanīkundadhavalam /
priyāyāḥ premārdraṃ praṇayam iva saubhāgyapiśunaṃ
sa cakre līlāṅkaṃ kanakakamalaṃ kumbhayugale // 101
prāṇeśahastavinyastahemāmbhojavibhūṣitām /
dṛṣṭvā sapatnikāṃ bhadrā mudriteverṣyayābhavat // 102
sācintayad aho kāntakaranyastāvataṃsakā /
vi (C 239a) bhāti līlābharaṇā subhadrā bhāgyabhāginī // 103
vilāsālasagāminyā bhartṛmānena bhūyasā /
nā (A 202+a) syāḥ karoti kamalaṃ kam alaṃkāravibhramam // 104
abhāraṃ gauravopetaṃ nirgranthadṛḍhaba (P 236b) ndhanam /
patiprasādasadṛśaṃ yoṣitāṃ nāsti bhūṣaṇam // 105
mānonnatiyutām etāṃ kuñjarendreṇa kurvatā /
asaubhāgyamayaḥ pāṃśupūraḥ śirasi me 'rpitaḥ // 106
parityajya ta (B 89a) nuṃ tasmād avamānahatām imām /
janmāntare bhaviṣyāmi patyur jīvitahāriṇī // 107
itīrṣyāviṣasaṃpūrṇā nāgī munitapovanam /
gatvāntike vṛddhamuner āryāṣṭāṅgasamanvitam // 108
upavāsaṃ samādāya praṇidhānāya sā vyadhāt /
prāptāyā rājapatnītvaṃ ṣaḍdantasya vipāṭitaiḥ // 109
dantaiḥ krīḍāsanaṃ cāru bhūyāj jātismṛtiś ca me /
babhūvur mānuṣālāpās tasmin kāle hi kuñjarāḥ // 110
ity uktvā parvatotsaṅgāt krūrā tatyāja sā vapuḥ /
svaśarīre 'pi kāluṣyād yoṣitāṃ paruṣaḥ kramaḥ // 111
tataḥ sā kāśinagare brahmadattasya bhūpateḥ /
mantriṇaḥ khaṇḍitākhyasya kālena (A 202+b) tanayābhavat // 112
mahāmātyasutā sātha bhadrā nāma varānanā /
bhūbhujā brahmadattena dṛṣṭā yauvanaśālinī // 113
pariṇīya smarākṛṣṭaḥ sa tāṃ lalitalocanām /
antaḥpuraḥsahasrāṇāṃ premṇā mūrdhni nyaveśayat // 114
gāḍhaprarūḍhaviśrambhā sā kadācin mahīpatim /
babhāṣe praṇayārambhasaṃbhāvitamanobhavā // 115

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pārśve tuhinaśailasya ṣaḍdantaḥ kuñjaraḥ sthitaḥ /
vṛtaḥ svapne mayā dṛṣṭaḥ kariṇāṃ pañcabhiḥ śataiḥ // 116
tasya taiḥ pāṭitair dantair āsanaṃ śilpibhiḥ kṛtam /
icchāmi tvatprasādena praṇayārhāsmi te yadi // 117
tvadājñāmātralabhyo 'yaṃ vandhyaś cen me manorathaḥ /
tadbhagnasaubhāgyarucā kiṃ mithyājīvitena me // 118
iti tasyā girā rā(C239b)jā svapnaṃ satyam amanyata /
satyāsatyavibhāgeṣu nirvivekā hi rāgiṇaḥ // 119
khe puṣpaṃ kusume me(P 237a)rur merumūrdhni ra(B 89b)sātalam /
vadantyaḥ sneharoheṇa pratyayāya nṛṇāṃ striyaḥ // 120
vṛddhalubdhaka(A 203+a)m āhūya tataḥ prītivaśīkṛtaḥ /
rājā svapnaṃ nivedyāsmai cakre gajavadhārthanām // 121
so 'bravīd asti nṛpate maitryāḥ keligṛhopamaḥ /
karuṇāmuditopekṣāvihārī gajayūthapaḥ // 122
sa bhādrakalpiko bodhisattvaḥ sattvavatāṃ varaḥ /
vivikte vasati śrīmān alaṃ tadvadhacintayā // 123
avadhyo nṛpate rājan rājendro hi viśeṣataḥ /
tasmān naiva nihantavyo rakṣitavyo nṛpeṇa saḥ // 124
kathaṃ vā śakyate hantuṃ mattanāgagaṇair vṛtaḥ /
mahākāyo mahojasko mahāvīryaparākramī // 125
tato 'pasarpaṇīyas te sarvasainyagaṇair api /
kenāpi śakyate naiva trāsayituṃ sa dhīradhīḥ // 126
yadi kopāt praruṣṭaḥ syāt sa ṣaḍdantaḥ pramādataḥ /
sarvasainyagaṇān ekaḥ kṣaṇāc chaknoti marditum // 127
tasmād ajeya evāsau sarvathāpi kathaṃcana /
ajitvā ca kathaṃ tasya dantān utpāṭayiṣyate // 128
tasmād etad akāryaṃ te kartuṃ naiva samutsahe /
aśakyeṣu hi māṃ rājan yojayituṃ na cārhasi // 129
dantair eva mahārāja kāryaṃ sarvathā yadi /
tad anyadantināṃ dantān bhavate samupāhare // 130
bahavas te gṛhe santi dantino danturā nṛpa /
teṣāṃ dantān samutkṛtya kāryaṃ yat taiḥ prakāraya // 131
iti tenoditaṃ śrutvā mantribhiś cānumoditam /
rājāpy evaṃ pratiśrutya tathā kartuṃ samaihata // 132
atha bhadrā rasāvarṇī matvā rājñas tad īhitam /
sahasā samupetyaivaṃ taṃ patiṃ punar abravīt // 133
prabho yathā pratijñātaṃ kartavyaṃ sarvathā khalu /
anyathā cen na śobethā nṛpā hi satyavādinaḥ // 134
necchāmi svāsanaṃ cānyadantida(C 240a)ntaprakalpitam /
tasyaiva dantino da(P 237b)ntaiḥ kalpitaṃ tu samarthaye // 135
tad yadi te mayi prītis taddantair eva kāritam /
āsanaṃ me pradātavyam anyaiḥ kṛtaṃ na rocaye // 136
iti proktaṃ tayā śrutvā rājā kāntāvaśe sthitaḥ /
aparaṃ lubdhakaṃ caivaṃ samāhūyābravīd rahaḥ // 137
lubdhaka tvaṃ mahāvīras tan mayā prārthite tvayi /
yadi te 'sti mayi prītis tan me kāryaṃ prasādhaya // 138

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ity evaṃ prārthite rājñā lubdhako 'sau pramoditaḥ /
kṛtāñjaliputo natvā nṛpatiṃ taṃ samabravīt // 139
sevako 'smi prabhoḥ svāmiṃs tat kartavyaṃ vadasva me /
sarvathā tat kariṣyāmi mātra śaṅkāṃ kṛthā hṛdi // 140
iti tena pratijñātaṃ śrutvā rājā praharṣitaḥ /
upahṛtya suvarṇāni puraś cainaṃ samabravīt // 141
himādrer dakṣiṇe pārśve ṣaḍdanto 'sti mahādvipaḥ /
tasya dantān samutpātya mahyaṃ dātuṃ samarhasi // 142
ity ukte prabhuṇā tena lubdhako 'tha prasāditaḥ /
tatheti ca pratijñāya tata utthāya prāgamat // 143
sa tataḥ prayayau rājaprasādavipulodyamaḥ /
kāṣāyavasanālakṣyabhikṣucchadmā himācalam // 144
atrāntare sa nāgendraḥ kāle meghamahīyasi /
vilalāsa sukhodagro nyagrodhasya taror adhaḥ // 145
galagarjitasaṃvādī tasya paryanyanisvanaḥ /
priyāsakhasya prayayau śravaṇānandabandhutām // 146
saṃsarpiṇāṃ śīkaramārutānāṃ
sparśena nirmuktanidāghadāghaḥ /
dhārāravākarṇanalīnakarṇāṃ
sa pārśvasaktām avadat subhadrām // 147
labdhodayāḥ snigdhatayeva kāmaṃ
tāpaṃ harantaḥ sahasā pareṣām /
ete dayārdrā iva pūritāśāḥ
payomucaḥ paśya samullasanti // 148
(A 203+b) samudbhūto nāyaṃ pathikaramaṇīmohasamayaḥ
samūho meghānāṃ kuvalayavanaśyāmalaruciḥ /
tad utprekṣya tryakṣekṣaṇadahanasaṃtāpapi(P 238a)śunair
anaṅgasyāṅgārair (C 240b) nabhasi vihito dhūmanivahaḥ // 149
iti bruvāṇaṃ dayitaṃ sānandaṃ jaladodayāt /
subhadrā pārśvam ālokya śaṅkiteva tam abhyadhāt // 150
eṣa krūratarākāraḥ puruṣaḥ parisa(B 90a)rpati /
mama saṃdarśanenāsya kampate cakitaṃ manaḥ // 151
meghasaṃgha ivānāryaḥ karoti kaluṣaṃ kṣaṇāt /
śaratkāla ivāryas tu prasādayati mānasam // 152
iti jāyāvacaḥ śrutvā dhīraḥ kuñjarayūthapaḥ /
taṃ dṛṣṭvā dṛgvibhāgena pratyabhāṣata vallabhām // 153
abalāsulabhaṃ bhīru na bhayaṃ kartum arhasi /
kāṣāyavasano hy eṣa bhayasthānaṃ na kasyacit // 154
ity uktamātre nāgena sahasaivopasṛtya sa /
taṃ jaghāneṣunā ghoraviṣadigdhena lubdhakaḥ // 155
marmāhate kharatareṇa śareṇa patyau
saṃkrāntaduḥsahaviṣādaviṣavyathārtā /
saṃmohanāmni nipapāta nimīlitākṣī
ghorāndhakāriṇi mahākuhare kareṇuḥ // 156
duḥsahām atha saṃstabhya vyathāṃ kuñjarayūthapaḥ /
śokāhatāṃ samāśvāsya subhadrām avadac chanaiḥ // 157

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eṣa kāṣāyavasanaḥ śaṅkāsthānaṃ (A 204+a) na me 'bhavat /
nāsya jñātaṃ mayā cihnam anyad anyac ca ceṣṭitam // 158
śucikalpo 'yam ākalpaḥ kriyā krūrāsya cedṛśī /
aho kaluṣacittānāṃ yad antar naiva tad bahiḥ // 159
samāśvasahi nāyaṃ me jīvitāntāya sāyakaḥ /
karmayogopapanneva kṣaṇam eṣā viṣavyathā // 160
ity uktvā kariṇīṃ nāgaḥ kopakāluṣyavikriyaḥ /
papraccha lubdhakaṃ digdhaśarāghātasya kāraṇam // 161
kim artham iṣuṇānena tvayāhaṃ ghātito nara /
tad vadasva mamāgre yad abhīpsitaṃ śarīrake // 162
iti proktaṃ gajendreṇa śrutvāsau lubdhakaḥ kharaḥ /
lajjāvanamito bhūtvā kṣaṇaṃ tasthau prakampitaḥ // 163
punaḥ punar (P 238b) gajendreṇa paripṛṣṭaḥ sa lubdhakaḥ /
śanair (C 241a) gadgadavākyena taṃ gajendram abhāṣata // 164
nṛpater brahmadattasya bhadrākhyā ramaṇī priyā /
tvaddantaghaṭitaṃ bhadra saubhāgyāsanam īhate // 165
prasādapaṇalubdhasya pṛthivīpatiśāsanāt /
niśitaṃ mama karmedaṃ pramāṇam adhunā bhavān // 166
iti tasya vacaḥ śrutvā jñātvā bhadrāviceṣṭitam /
acintayad dvipapatis tadāśāpūraṇodyataḥ // 167
saṃdhāya vipulām āśāṃ mām uddiśyāyam ā(B 90b)gataḥ /
na hy asyānalpasaṃkalpavaiphalyaṃ kartum utsahe // 168
dantatyāge tanutyāgaḥ parārthe 'bhimato mama /
na tv āśāgatavaiphalyajanmā hṛtkoṭarānalaḥ // 169
kiṃ tenāvanibhārabhū(A 204+b)tavapuṣā śoṣābhibhūtadruma-
prāyeṇa praṇayiprayatnaghaṭanāvaiphalyaśalyāyuṣā /
pratyākhyānavikhaṇḍitākhilasukhaḥ khedoṣmaniśvāsavān
yasyārthitvam anartham ety anuśayakleśārtham arthī janaḥ // 170
tasmād asya karomy adya dantaiḥ saṃkalpapūraṇam /
āśābhaṅgaparimlānaṃ vadanaṃ nārthināṃ sahe // 171
dāridryānalasaṃtāpaḥ śāntaḥ saṃtoṣavāriṇā /
yācakāśāvighātottho dāghaḥ kenopaśāmyati // 172
smarāmi yad asaṃkhyeyakalpe dīpaṃkaraḥ purā /
śāstā babhūva bhagavāñ jagatkalyāṇabāndhavaḥ // 173
sa bhikṣukoṭīniyutaiś caturdaśabhir āśritaḥ /
purīṃ padmāvatīṃ nāma viveśa tridaśārcitaḥ // 174
meghamānavakākhyasya tatra namrasya tena me /
caraṇena jaṭāḥ spṛṣṭāḥ prayayuḥ svarṇavarṇatām // 175
bhāvinī śākyamunitā mama tena prasādinā /
nirdiṣṭā dṛṣṭatattvena sarvasattvahiteṣiṇā // 176
janmāntareṣv athārthibhyaḥ svāṅgadānarasād aham /
tyāgino (P 239a) bodhisattvasya maitreyasyāgratāṃ gataḥ // 177
tasya me 'rthijanaprītyai jīvitatyāgam icchataḥ /
a(A 205+a)bhyastadehadānasya dantatyāge kathaṃ vyathā // 178
(C 241b) iti saṃcintya ṣaḍdantaḥ sarvasattvavimuktaye /
praṇidhānaṃ samādhāya śailabhittisamāhatam // 179

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bhaṅktvā dantacayaṃ mūlāl lubdhakāya svayaṃ dadau /
yadbhaṅge bhuvanākampadolālīlābhavad bhuvaḥ // 180
sphurati sukṛte vīryotsāhaḥ sa ko 'pi mahātmanāṃ
gurutarabharaṃ yasyāścaryaṃ suduḥsaham udvahat /
calajalakaṇākārodanvatsthalaṃ pavanāvalī-
tulitanalinīpattraprāyaṃ jagat parighūrṇate // 181
bhuvanākampavijñātatīvrakānanaviplavāt /
tatas tam āyayau deśaṃ gajānāṃ śatapañcakam // 182
teṣāṃ viditavṛttānāṃ patitaṃ vadhagocare /
rarakṣa vakṣasācchādya lubdhakaṃ gajayūthapaḥ // 183
tān visṛjya nijaṃ deśaṃ sravadrudhiranirjharaḥ /
dantabhārānatatanuṃ vyasṛjat so 'tha lubdhakam // 184
tataḥ sa lubdhakaś caitān dantān ādāya satvaraḥ /
nṛpater nivedya tad vṛttaṃ sarvānupaḍuṭhokatān // 185
tataḥ sa nṛpatir dṛṣṭvā dantāṃs tena samāhṛtān /
pratimānya suvarṇais taṃ praty abhinandito 'vadat // 186
dhanyas tvaṃ sevako me 'si yathābhiprāyapūrakaḥ /
tathā hi sevakair bhartuḥ kartavyaṃ kāmasādhanam // 187
adyaprabhṛti nityaṃ tvaṃ yathākāmaṃ samācara /
ity uktvā preṣito rājñā lubdhakaḥ svaṃ gṛhaṃ yayau // 188
tatas tasya praduṣṭasya lubdhakasya supāpinaḥ /
samucchinnāv ubhau pāṇī petatuḥ sahasā bhuvi // 189
tatas tair lubdhakānītair dantair vihitam āsanam /
taṃ bhadrāruhya dagdhāsmīty uktvaiva narake 'patat // 190
brahmadattasya bhūbhartū rāṣṭraṃ caivaṃ samantataḥ /
ītibhiḥ saṃparākramya vinanāśātyu(P 239b)padravaiḥ // 191
atyutkaṭaiḥ pāpapuṇyair ihaiva phalam aśnuyāt /
tasmāt pāpe matis tyājyā kartavyā ca sadā śubhe // 192
kuñjarendraḥ sa evāhaṃ bhadraiṣā tīrthikāṅga(C 242a)nā /
asyā janmāntaradveṣaśeṣo 'dyāpi na śāmyati // 193
dāruṇācāraduṣṭo 'yaṃ devadattaḥ sa lubdhakaḥ /
bhikṣavaś ca ta evaite mama yūthacarā gajāḥ // 194
ity evam atidurgāhagahanaṃ strīviceṣṭitam /
yadvicāreṣu sīdanti mahatām api buddhayaḥ // 195
dvandvāśrayāṇi kuṭilāni viśṛṅkhalāni
tīkṣṇāni cañcalatarāṇi malīmasāni /
saṃmohanāni nayanānukṛtivratāni
strīṇāṃ vicitracaritāni durantarāṇi // 196
kathayitveti sarvajñas trailokyakuśalotsukaḥ /
dideśa dharmamaryādām āryavaryābhinanditām // 197
satyaṃ vadet parahitapraṇayopayuktaṃ
hiṃsāviraktam ucitaṃ caritaṃ bhajeta /
kuryān matiṃ viratavairaviṣātivāmāṃ
saṃcintayen niyatam antahitāya śāntim // 198
campāvihārī saddharmaṃ gargakhātābjinītaṭe /

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śakrapradhānais tridaśaiś cakratulyaiś ca rājabhiḥ // A
maharṣibhiś ca juṣṭāyāṃ sabhāyāṃ bhagavān purā /
ādimadhyāntakalyāṇaṃ dideśa viśadaṃ jinaḥ // B
atrāntare guṇodvignair mātsaryamalināśayaiḥ /
saṃmantrya puṇyakṣapaṇaiḥ sakṣaṇaiḥ kṣapaṇādibhiḥ // C
tvatta eva sagarbhāsmīty uktvā lajjājale tvayā /
sugataḥ pātanīyo 'dya dīptir yenāsya śāmyati // D
ity anarthārthibhis tīrthyair arthitā taruṇī rahaḥ / (B 87a)
vastrāntar dārupātreṇa kṛtvā garbhaṃ kṛśodarī // E
ity ukte dhīmatā tena dvitīyo 'bhyetya lubdhakaḥ /
icche 'haṃ deva taṃ hantum ity uvācātha lubdhakaḥ // F
so 'bravīd brahmadattasya bhadrākhyā bhūpateḥ priyā /
tvaddantadaṇḍaghaṭitaṃ saubhāgyāsanam īhate // G
lubdhakasya tataḥ pāṇī petatuḥ sahasā bhuvi /
brahmadattasya rāṣṭraṃ ca vinanāśā (A 205+b)tivṛṣṭibhiḥ // H
satyaṃ hi sarvadharmāṇāṃ mūlaṃ jagur munīśvarāḥ
tasmāt satyaṃ samāśritya dānādidharmam ācaret // 199
mānuṣyaṃ samavāpya duṣkaraśatair labdhvā durāpaṃ kṣaṇaṃ
mṛtyau niṣpratikāradāruṇatare nityaṃ puraḥsthāyini /
satyaṃ dharmapradānasaṃyamacarair yair na manuṣyaiḥ kṛtaṃ
saṃsārāgramanuprapātapatitāḥ prāpsyanti duḥkhāni te // 200
mānuṣyaṃ durlabhaṃ prāpya vidyutsaṃpātacañcalam /
bhavakṣaye matiḥ kāryā bhavopakaraneṣu vā // 201
yasyānubhāvān mānuṣyaṃ prāptaṃ yuṣmābhir ādarāt /
puṇyaṃ tad vardhayadhvaṃ ca yasmād dhetuḥ sukhasya vaḥ // 202
yuṣmābhir yadapāśrayāt kṣaṇagatir labdhā punaḥ saṃprataṃ
rūpaudāryakulonnatiprabhṛtibhiḥ (P 240a) sārdhaṃ vicitrair guṇaiḥ /
tat puṇyaṃ suhṛd eka eva jagatāṃ bandhuś ca janmāntare
tasmāt tūrṇam idaṃ kurudhvam asakṛt sarvārthasaṃpatpadam // 203
viramata pāpataḥ kuruta puṇyam udārataraṃ
damayata durdamaṃ viṣayalolamanasturagam /
bhavata mu(C 242b)nīndravat parahitābhiratāḥ satataṃ
daśati na yāvad eva maraṇāhir asatyaviṣaḥ // 204
pallavāgrajalabinducañcale
kleśajālapariveṣṭite bhave /
yo na cintayati karmasatpathaṃ
tasya janma bhavatīha niṣphalam // 205
tasmāt kukāryaṃ vyavahāya sarvaṃ
sattveṣu kāryaṃ paramāryadharmam /
śrotavya eva prayatena dharmo
yasmād ataḥ sarvaguṇā bhavanti // 206
yat prāpya duḥkhajalanidher api yānti pāram
āropayanti śivam uttamabodhibījam /
cintāmaṇer api samabhyadhikaṃ guṇoghair
mānuṣyakaṃ ka iha tat viphalīkaroti // 207

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yo mānuṣyaṃ kuśalavibhavaiḥ prāpya kalpair analpair
mohāt puṇyadraviṇam iha na svalpam apy ācinoti /
so 'smāl lokāt param upagatas tīvram abhyeti śokaṃ
ratnabhraṣṭo vaṇig iva gataḥ svaṃ gṛhaṃ śūnyahastaḥ // 208
nākuśalaiḥ karmapathair mānuṣyaṃ labhyate punaḥ /
mānuṣye 'labhyamāne hi duḥkham eva kutaḥ sukham // 209
nātaḥ paraḥ vañcano 'sti na ca moho 'sty ataḥ paraḥ
yad īdṛśaṃ kṣaṇaṃ prāpya na kuryāt kuśalaṃ bahu // 210
ekakṣaṇakṛtāt pāpād avīcau kalpam āsyate /
naikajanmakṛtāt pāpāt kā punaḥ sugatau kathā // 211
sarvair evocyate buddhair mānuṣyam atidurlabham /
mahārṇavayugacchidrakūrmagrīvārpaṇopamam // 212
iti matvātra yuṣmābhir bodhipraṇidhimānasaiḥ /
puṇyaṃ dānādikaṃ kṛtvā caritavyaṃ sadā śubhe // 213
puṇyaṃ narāṇāṃ tamasi pradīpo
bhayeṣu rakṣā vyasaneṣu bandhuḥ /
rogeṣu bhaiṣajyam anutttaraṃ ca
plavaṃ ca saṃsāra(P 240b)mahāsamudre // 214
dānena bhogyaṃ na paropatāpāt
śīlena svargaṃ na giriprapātāt /
satyena śaucyaṃ na jalapraveśāt
jñānena mokṣaṃ na śarīraśoṣāt // 215
adattadānena daridrabhāvaṃ (C 243a)
daridrabhāvāc ca karoti pāpam /
pāpaṃ ca kṛtvā narakaṃ prayāti
narakāc ca muktaḥ punar eva duḥkhī // 216
daridranāśanaṃ dānaṃ śīlaṃ durgatināśanam /
duṣṭārināśanaṃ kṣāntir vīryaṃ duḥkhavināśanam /
kleśavināśanaṃ dhyānaṃ prajñā durbuddhināśanam // 217
iti matvā sadā yūyaṃ ṣaṭsu pāramitāsu ca /
caritvā satataṃ puṇyaṃ saṃcinudhvaṃ samāhitāḥ // 218
iti dharmāmṛtaṃ pītvā jinavaktrāmbujodbhavam /
sarve te bhikṣavo lokā mumuduḥ sāmareśvarāḥ // 219
ity etat pṛthivīpāla guruṇā me yathoditam /
tathocyate tava prītyā saddharmacittalabdhaye // 220
śrutvā caitat parijñāya bodhipraṇidhicetasā /
sarvathāpi prajāḥ sarvāḥ preraṇīyāḥ sadā śubhe // 221
tatas te dharmavṛddhiḥ syāt taddharmaiḥ parivardhitaḥ /
bodhicaryāṃ kramāt pūrya sukhāvatīṃ samāpnuyāḥ // 222
iti śrutvā nṛpo 'śokaḥ samantrijanapaurikaḥ /
satyam etad iti jñātvā pratyanandat praharṣitaḥ // 223
tat ṣaḍdantāvadānaṃ nijaguṇacaritaṃ śākyasiṃhena proktaṃ
śrutvā ye śrāvayanti pramuditamanaso bodhicaryānuraktāḥ /
te jitvā kleśavairaṃ madanabalajito dharmacaryānurāgāḥ
saṃbodhiprāptukāmā amitarucibhuvane saṃvasanti pramodāḥ // 224
iti kalpadrumāvadāne ṣaḍdantāvadānam //

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1. a) P *athā*. d) *C' vavrīt*.
3. b) C *bhubhujā*. c) C *yatiṃdro*.
4. b) P *guruṇāditaṃ*. c) C *tathradonī*. d) C *samāhitaḥ*.
5. a) P *sujanāvarjjanair*. b) ABCP *tenevāsau*. c) CP *-krūraṇāvāvagharṣaiḥ*. d) A *kāntir vyaktaṃ* but originally *kāntiṃ vyaktiṃ*, B *kotiṃ vyaktiṃ*, CP *kāntiṃ vyaktiṃ*.
6. c) C *loke*. d) CP *upācaran*.
7. b) P *-khātājanī-*, C *khātakṣaṇī-*.
8. b) P *-mānukaiḥ*.
10. c) CP *yuṣṭāyāṃ*.
11. a) CP *-nāsīno*.
12. a) CP *pāpīṣṭho*. b) P *dutimatsarī*.
13. b) P *-kośramam*. Read *-kāśramāśritaḥ*?
14. a) CP *śruyatāṃ*. c) C *vā noḥ*, P *vāco*.
15. b) C *sugatā*.
17. b) CP *yatīś*. d) C *maharṣiś*, P *maharṣīś*.
18. c) CP *svadharma*. d) CP *kurvaṃ*.
19. a) C *atrāpi tva*.
21. a) C *nikleśā*. d) C *nirījanāḥ*.
22. c) C *satkṛto mānito*. d) C *vadya-*.
23. b) P *gurūkṛtāḥ*.
25. a) CP *śaraṇe*. c) P *traṣṭāḥ*. d) *nighnita* is found also in the *Ratnamālāvadāna*, ed. K. Takahata, Tokyo, 1954, pp. 130.9, 421.10, 470.7.
26. a) CP *sarvāṃ*. d) C *bhikṣuṃ*, P *bhikṣūṃ*.
27. b) CP *śaraṇe*. c) CP *nigrahitvā*, P *balenāśau*. d) P *nipātayat*.
28. b) CP *-khinnāḥ*.
29. a) Read *kiṃ nu*? CP *balai*. b) C *guṇai maṃtrai*. d) C *ripo*.
31. a) CP *-ṣyaitāṃ*. b) CP *sarvāṃ*. c) P *'yatī*.
32. d) C *niṣedite*.
33. d) CP *harṣaṃ*.
34. a) C *kecin*. b) C *sabuddha-*, C *-kautukā*. c) CP *-vaiṣaṇṇā*. d) C *saṃbhikṣutā*, P *sakṣubhitā*.
37. a) P *kva vā*. c) CP *vādituṃ*.
39. a) CP *madvacā*. b) *yat tat* ex conject., CP *yatnaṃ*, P *pracakṣate*. d) C *niyātyate*, P *niyābhyate*.
40. d) C *gaccheyu*.
41. c) CP *-gaṇāṃ*.
42. c) C *sarvā*, P *sarvāl*, C *lokā*. d) CP *saṃniveśayan*.
43. d) C *nā*.
44. b) CP *saṃprakāśayan*. c) CP *sarvān*. d) CP *-kāṃ*.
45. a) C *mibhir*, P *mībhikṣa*.
47. c) C *ya śaknuyā*. d) P *-parākramaḥ*.
48. b) P *-mānā*.
49. a) C *vividhopāyai*, P *vividhāyāyai*. c) C *jeno*.
50. c) CP *ste*.
51. d) P *kuruṣvata*.
52. b) C *kāmīni sundari*, P *kāminī sundarīṃ*.
53. a) CP *vatsa*.
54. b) CP *vighātane*. d) C *tatvaivaṃ*.
55. c) C *-vāhī*.
56. a) C *kvaci*, P *pṛṣṭhe*. c) C *-bijāt*.
58. b) C *taruṇi*. c) C *vastrāstra*, P *vastrānta*. d) C *kṛśodari*, P *kṛśyodarī*.
59. b) C *durjanadhār*. d) *A tan deśam āyayau*, B *taṃ deśam āyayau*.
60. a) CP *prakaṭa*.
61. a) C *vadanti*, CP *cakratvam*. b) P *tarana-*. c) C *vahanti*, P *vadantī*, B *vadaṃtī*.
62. b) C *śāntayituṃ*.
63. a) C *nilaṃjā*. c) P *śarair*, A *sanair*.

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64. c) AC *-kuraṅgīnāṃ*, P *-kuruṃṅgīnāṃ*. d) C *haranti*.
65. c) C *paridveṣeśeṣo*.
66. a) CP *-bhaiva*.
67. a) CP *śīlavighnavaśāpo*. c) C *agrayadatpranauvityaṃ*, B *agreyadamyanucitaṃ*, P *agneyadatpanaupitvaṃ*.
68. ab) C *pūrvaṃ ścāt*. d) C *vitagatrapā*, P *vitagatrapāḥ*.
69. a) AB *anena lokaguruṇā*, P *śāstā*.
70. c) AP *kṛtas*, C *kṛta*.
71. a) CP *tāruṇe*. b) C *śīlavināśitā*. c) A *sagarvvāhaṃ*, B *sagarvāhaṃ*, C *sagarbhāhem*, P *sagarbhvāham*. d) P *adharāputāṃ*.
74. a) A *khedam*, B *kheda*. b) A *pṛśaty*. d) A *na* (in margine) *kāmāya prakupyati*.
75. b) C *-tyāgāṃ*. c) C *virodhyate*.
77. a) CP *vratatyāgodvegasvajanavidita*. b) ABC *garbhaḥ*, P *garbhvaḥ*. c) ACP *parivipad-*.
78. a) A *iti tasyāḥ*, C *iti tasmi*. b) CP *prasṛta*. c) *satya-?*, B *samya-*.
81. d) ACP *bhṛkuṭir*, C *bhṛkuti*.
83. b) Read *gaṇḍa-tāṇḍava-kuṇḍalāḥ*? d) P *-kṣamaṇe*.
84. d) AB *asīryata*, C *aśīryate*.
85. b) ABCP *nirmime*.
86. c) BC *tirthikānām*, P *tīthikānām*.
87. d) A *paṅkajanīva*.
90. a) A *kurma nābhuktaṃ*, BC *kurma karmaṇābhuktaṃ*.
91. d) ABCP *teneva*.
92. c) C *antasūtaiva*, P *antaḥ sūte ca*.
93. c) ABCP *śiso-*, C *jonto*, P *janton*. d) CP *naivi*, A *nneva*.
94. a) P *nivaṇiṃ vrajati*, C *nivaṇiṃ vrajanti*, ABP *-mantroṣadhi-*, C *matroṣadhi-*. b) A *jvaladanamālāś*.
95. d) A *bhūta*.
96. b) P *priti-*. c) A *visrambhaśubhagā*, B *visramamumagā*, CP *viśrambhaśubhagā*.
98. c) A *nabhaśriyaḥ*.
101. a) ABCP *priyasparśā*; ABCP *srastaśāralāt*. b) AB *mucantyā*, CP *muñcantyā*. d) P *līlāṅgaṃ*, C *līlākaṃ*.
102. c) A *sapatnitāṃ*.
107. a) C *tanūṃ*.
109. c) P *prāpnuyāṃ*. d) AB *vipāṭitai*, C *vighāṭite*, P *vipāṭita*.
111. b) A *krūrās*, AB *jīvitaṃ*, A in margine: *sā vapuḥ*.
114. a) A *pariṇīyaḥ*. c) ACP *premnā*.
115. b) A *kadācit*, B *kadān*.
116. b) P *kuñjara*.
118. b) B *manmanorathaḥ*.
119. a) A *tasyāḥ*. d) AC *nirvivegā*, B *nirviveśā*.
120. d) P *pratyāyā*, A *nṛṇa śriyaḥ*, B *nṛṇāṃ śriyaḥ*, C *nṛpā śriya*, P *nṛpaśriyaḥ*.
121. b) A *-vasīkṛtaḥ*.
122. a) A *nṛpater*. b) BCP *maitryā*.
123. a) AC *bhādrakalpito*.
124. c) P *nihantavyā*.
126. a) P *'praparṣaṇīyas*, C *pravarṣaṇīyas*.
127. a) C *kopā*, P *kopān*. b) C *pramantata*, P *pramattitaḥ*.
130. d) C *bhavatye*, P *bhavateḥ*; C *samupāharet*.
131. b) CP *dantulā*. d) CP *tais*.
133. a) C *vasācaṇḍī*, P *rasāvarṇī*. c) CP *samupetyevaṃ*.
134. c) C *vai*, P *cain*.
135. a) CP *vānya-*. d) C *samācchaye*, P *samacchaye*.
136. d) CP *anyais*.
138. c) C *te stī mayi*, P *te mayi*.
140. d) P *kṛtā*.

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142. a) CP *himādre.*
143. a) CP *prabhunā.*
144. c) CP *-lakṣmībhikṣu-.*
145. b) ABCP *-mahīyase.*
147. a) AB *śikara-.* b) CP *saṃsparśena,* A *sparsena,* B *sparśpena;* C *-dāya.* P *-dādyaḥ.* c) A *-karṇṇaḥ,* B *-karṇaḥ,* P *śaroravākarṇanalinakarṇāṃ,* C *śarālarākarṇṇanalinakarṇa.*
149. c) A *utprekṣyo,* B *utprekṣye,* C *utprakṣa,* P *unprakṣyā.*
151. c) AB *mamedaṃ darśanenāsya.* d) ACP *saṅkiteva.*
152. d) AB *praśādayati.*
153. c) CP *dṛktibhāgena.*
155. b) A *sahasevopasṛtya,* CP *sahasopasṛtya.*
156. a) CP *sammohite kharatareṇa.*
157. a) AP *saṃtambhya,* B *saṃstaṃmya,* C *saṃbhantya.*
158. a) A *saṅkā-,* C *saṃkā-.* cd) CP *cihnam anyam.*
159. a) *ākalpaḥ.* A has a marginal gloss: *veśaracanā.*
160. b) P *śāyakaḥ.*
164. a) CP *punaḥ puna.* c) CP *gargada-.*
165. c) P *tvaddantapaṭitaṃ.*
167. c) CP *dvipendro sau.*
168. a) A *āsāṃ.*
169. c) A *-naisphalya-,* B *naiḥphalya-.*
170. a) A *-bhāranūtavapuṣā;* A *drumaḥ.* c) ABCP *-viṣaṇḍitā-.* d) P *athī.*
171. a) A *adyaḥ.* cd) ABCP *-parimlānavadanaṃ.* d) ABCP *arthinaṃ.*
172. ab) A *-santāpasāntiḥ,* C *-saṃtāpaśānti,* P *-saṃtāpa śāntiḥ.* c) A *-torthaḥ,* B *-tāṃto,* P *-tortthā.*
175. c) C *spṛṣṭā,* P *spṛṣṭhā.*
176. b) A *praśādinā,* C *prasāditā.*
178. c) CP *svatpastadehadānasya.*
184. b) ABP *śravad-,* C *travad-.* c) A *dantaśārānata-,* B *dantamārānala-.* d) A *visṛjata,* C *visṛja,* P *visṛjat.*
185. c) C *nṛpate,* P *nṛpateḥ.* d) *sarvānupaḍuṭhokatān?,* C *sarvānupaḍ(?)uṭokaṭān.*
186. c) P *pratimāsya,* C *pratimālpa.*
187. a) P *dhanyes.*
188. d) P *lubdhakoḥ.*
190. d) ABCP *uktveva.*
193. c) A *asyāḥ.*
194. a) A *dāruṇācāravasatir,* B *-vasati.*
195. c) A *śīdanti.*
197. b) BP *trilokya-,* C *trilaukya-.*
198. d) A *sañcitaye,* B *saṃcintaye,* C *sa cintaye,* P *sañcintayen.*

Colophon. B *iti kṣemendraviracitāyāṃ bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatāyāṃ ṣaḍdantāvadanām.* A adds: *pacāṇaṇaḥ pallavaḥ.*

B. d) A *viṣadaṃ.*
C. d) *sakṣaṇair.* Meaning?
E. c) A *vastrāntara,* B *vastrāṃtar.*
F. a) A (in margine), *icche haṃ deva ta hantu.*
G. c) B *tvaddaṃtadaṃtaghaṭitaṃ.*
H. a) A *lubdakaḥ sa.* c) AB *rāṣṭraś ca.*
200. a) P *vurāyaṃ kṣaṇaṃ.* c) C *-padāna-;* C *-care yai,* P *-carair yai.* d) *samṣārāgramaṣu?*
201. c) P *bhakṣyaye.*
203. a) P *yadapāśrayot,* C *yadapāśreyot.* b) CP *rūpodārya-.* c) CP *ekam.*
204. b) P *damaya.*
206. a) P *vyavahāra.*
207. c) CP *guṇodyair.*
208. c) P *atyebhi,* P *atyoti.*

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210. a) C *para vaṃcanāsti*, P *paraḥ vaṃcanosti*. b) C *na ca mohyasy*, P *na ca motpasty*.
211. b) CP *avācau*.
212. d) CP *-karma-*.
214. c) CP *rogyeṣu*.
215. a) P *parāpatāpāt*.
217. c) CP *kṣānti*.
219. c) P *sarve se*.
221. c) CP *prajā*.
222. c) C *bodhicaryā*, P *bodhicaryyāḥ*.
223. d) C *protyanandat*, P *prābhyanandat*.
224. a) C *tatvadaṇtā-*, P *tatvaḍdantā-*. c) C *kleśavairiṃ*, P *kleśavairīṃ*.

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V. I. KALYANOV

ON KṚṢṆA'S DIPLOMATICS IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

The main principles of diplomatics in ancient India were forming along with the development of the whole socio-political ideology. They were bound integrally up with the current problems of the country's foreign politics, and with the problems of war and peace first and foremost. At that time the principal problems of the foreign politics were on the one hand the problems of the motherland defence against the external enemies, and on the other hand the problems of the expansion of it's own influence in the neighboring countries [1].

In the *Mahābhārata*, which is a valuable source for the studies in the political thought of ancient India, the fifth book of the *Mahābhārata — Udyogaparva* (« The Book of Endeavour ») is especially interesting for our subject. Almost all parts of this very book contain the main principles of the diplomatic theory in ancient India. Though this book, unlike the other ones, such as, for example, the 12th book *Śāntiparva* — « The Book of Pacification » does not contain special sections, dedicated to the problems of the external and internal politics, the narration and the dialoges of it's main characters present a really detailed picture of the principal problems of the external politics, diplomatics and the etiquette of the epoch. That is considered in the most detailed way in the *Bhagavadyānaparva*, the big section which is also known as « The Story of Bhagavān's Embassy (of Kṛṣṇa) ».

The main idea of the *Mahābhārata* comes to the age-long struggle between the forces of peace and good and the forces of evil and war. The good forces are personified by the Pāṇḍavas headed by Yudhiṣṭhira, the evil ones by the Kauravas headed by Duryodhana. Through in the narration the struggle assuming various forms, is continued uninterruptedly and terminated with a terrible bloody slaughter. In this great

1. R. P. Kangle, *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, Part III. A Study, Bombay, 1965, p. 248.

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battle, which continued for 18 days running, the victory was gained by the forces of the good. But the victory was paid for with serious losses of the both fighting sides.

Udyogaparva, the fifth book of the *Mahābhārata* is dedicated to these efforts to maintain peace by any means and to avoid a slaughter as the result of the great strife aroused by the division of the hereditary kingdom. The best representatives of ancient India, personified by the celebrated heroes of the epopee, whoes names up to the present days in India are the symbols of good and peace. R. N. Dandekar, a prominent Indian scholar writes: « It would not be an exaggeration to say that the people of India have learnt to think and act in terms of the *Mahābhārata* » [2].

Yudhiṣṭhira, who personifies justice in the epos, striving to settle the conflict in peacefull way and to avert the bloodshed, was ready to conclude peace at any price. When the Sanjaya's embassy, which was sent by the Kauravas to the Pāṇḍavas, failed, Yudhiṣṭhira sent a return embassy in the person of Kṛṣṇa. Through him Yudhiṣṭhira informed the Kauravas, that instead of the half of the whole kingdom he is ready to get only five villages: Kuśasthala, Vṛkasthala, Āsandī, Vāraṇāvata and one residence more, instead of the fifth village (M.V. 70.14-15) [3]. The same was earlier declared by Yudhiṣṭhira in the negotiations with Sanjaya through whom he asked Duryodhana to provide him and his four brothers with the five refered villages and in this way to conclude stable peace between the both related families (M.V. 31.19-20). But Duryodhana misjudged Yudhiṣṭhira's peaceful offer communicated by Sanjaya evaluating it as an evidence of the Pāṇḍavas weakness and that is why he continued to persuade the aged Dhṛtarāṣṭra that it was necessary to start war against the Pāṇḍavas. By this he declared: « Losing the hope to get even one city, Yudhiṣṭhira asks for five villages only, because he is afraid of my army and my valour » (M.V. 54.29). This passage reflects the extreme positions of the enemies, one of whom in order to preserve peace is ready to agree to accept only five villages instead of the half of the kingdom, while the other one rejects even this minimal demand.

So, the analysis of the *Udyogaparva* book shows the importance attached to the preservation of peace in ancient India, as far as through all the text of the book one finds the appeal to maintain peace at the price of any, even extreme concessions. Preventing war and bloodshed by any means, great wisdom, patience and tolerance, all these appear here as the necessary qualities for settling the questions of war and peace.

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2. R. N. Dandekar, *The Mahābhārata: Origin and Grouth*, in « Univ. of Ceylon Review », vol. 12, n. 2 (1954), p. 2.

3. *The Mahābhārata*, vol. VI. *The Udyogaparvan*, being the fifth book of the *Mahābhārata*, the great epic of India (for the first time) critically edited by Sushil Kumar De, Poona, BORI, 1940. Russian translation: *The Mahābhārata*, Book Five, *Udyogaparva*, or Book of Endeavour. Translation from Sanskrit and commentary by V. I. Kalyanov, Leningrad, 1976.

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The text of our ancient source and other similar sources evidence that the thinkers of ancient India attached paramount significance to the maintaining of peace inside their own state and in the relations between states. In many cases, being in the role of advisers they offered to the ambitious rulers to avoid the use of arms up to the last possibility (*Manu* VII, 198; *Kāmandaka* IX.II; *Mbh.* XII.94.1), saing that « an unrighteous war brings disgrace in this life and procures hell thereafter » (*Mbh.* 96.1-3) [4]. The peaceful policy of the Pāṇḍavas « the readiness of the latter to be content even with five villages, will show that wars were not declared in hot haste in ancient India » [5], writes Dr. A. S. Altekar.

In that remote epoch the notion of just and unjust war could not exist, as far as the notion itself developed only in the modern ages. But the text of *Udyogaparva*, the story of all the peripetias of the struggle between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas do not leave a single doubt, that the source consideres the impeding war as a just one on the part of the Pāṇḍavas, trying to rescue the domains, which had been fraudulently captured by the Kauravas from Yudhiṣṭhira [6]. For this in particular is the fact that Kṛṣṇa, who in this epos was the earth incarnation of the supreme deity Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, participates in the battle on the side of the Pāṇḍavas as Arjuna's charioteer. On the other side, Kṛṣṇa gives his army to Duryodhana, and not fighting personally, he becomes only a military adviser for the Pāṇḍavas and this Kṛṣṇa's act shows that he attaches more significance to the diplomatic methods in the struggle and prefers them. The unjust character of the war on the part of the Kauravas manifests also in the symbolic description of the ominous sings, which occured in their camp after Bhīṣma had been appointed the supreme military commander.

The careful analysis of the *Udyogaparva* text reveals the deeply impressing wisdom, patience and consistency with which the personages of the epos develop the main principles of the peaceful foreign politics. King Yudhiṣṭhira, foreseeing the pernicious side of war admonisches Kṛṣṇa: « One can expect victory by any of the sides, both sides may be defeated, in the very same way one may foresee casualties; in case of rout only one's own death and ruin come. In all these cases war is evil. Who, killing (another one) would not be killed himself? And for the killed one, o Hṛṣikeśa, a victory or a defeat are completely the same. The defeat, as I think, does not differ from death at all. That one, who has the victory, o Kṛṣṇa, must have undoubtedly losses » (M.V. 70.52-54). In the *Mahābhārata* the peace supporters consistently use various methods of convincing their opponents and use every opportunity to keep

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4. A. S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, 3-rd Edition, revised and enlarged, Delhi, 1958, p. 293.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Prof. V. M. Stein, *On the History of Diplomatics in Ancient China and Ancient India*, in « Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta », n. 6 (1947), p. 109.

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them from such an unjust and hasty step, as the beginning of war.

In the *Mahābhārata* one of the most prominent peace suporters is Kṛṣṇa. After the failure of the Sanjaya's embassy the Pāṇḍavas decide to send Kṛṣṇa with the return embassy to the Kauravas. Kṛṣṇa agrees with this mission, hoping to settle secure peace between the hostile sides. But the insidious Duryodhana plots a perfidy to prevent this embassy. He tells his father Dhṛtarāṣṭra: « Listen to me attentivly (and I shall tell you) what a great deed have I thought of. I shall imprison Janārdana (Kṛṣṇa), who is the last refuge of the Pāṇḍavas. When he will be imprisoned, all the Vṛṣṇis and the Pāṇḍavas, and all our Earth become subject to me. And he will come here tomorrow morning » (*M.V.* 86.13-14).

Dhṛtaraṣṭra does not give his consent to this perfidy. He reproaches his son, reminding him of the ambassadors immunity. « Never tell me this, o the ruler of men, this does not correspond with the eternal law! You see, Hṛṣikésa (will come here) as an ambassador, besides he is our relative and he is always dear for us. He will not make any harm to the Kauravas. So, does he deserve imprisonment? » (*M.V.* 86.17-18).

Kṛṣṇa contrary to Duryodhana proceeds from highly moral principles appropriate to his high aim. He understands completely the importance of his honorable mission. As he comes to the Kauravas, Kṛṣṇa pays Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Duryodhana a courtesy visit, and also visits Vidura and enjoys his hospitality. When he hears from Vidura, that he disapproves his coming to the Kauravas, known for their insidiousness, Kṛṣṇa replies, that he intends to use all opportunities to acheave mutual consent. To confirm this he refers a dictum of ancient sages, that anyone can not be considered a real friend, when he does not agree to serve as an intermediary to put end to a discord between relatives (M.V. 91.12-21). Kṛṣṇa explains to Vidura that he has come just « to help the both sides » (M.V. 91.17). He acts so in order to prevent fools and enemies from saying « Though he could, Kṛṣṇa has not stopped the enraged Kauravas and Pāṇḍvas (from mutual distruction) » (*Ibidem, śloka* 16).

Further Kṛṣṇa tells Vidura: « Making efforts (to establish peace) here I would not arouse blames among people » (*Ibidem, śloka* 17). He continues: « And if I manage to achieve peace with the Kauravas in proper way without harming the profits of the Pāṇḍavas, then my good action would have great importance and the Kauravas would escape deadly danger » (*Ibidem, śl.* 19).

Thus Kṛṣṇa regards his mission, dedicated to achieve peace, as an honorable aim and realizes his responsibility to the people, whoes confidence is precious for him and to lose it (in case of failure) is for him the most frightening thing. Applying with his speach to the aged Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the chief of the Kauravas, Kṛṣṇa directly says about the aim of his mission: « Let peace come between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas — with this cherished motive did I come here, o the offspring of Bharata, just to try to achieve it without feat of arms of the glorious

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heroes » (M.V. 93.3). Kṛṣṇa convinces Dhṛtarāṣṭra to avert himself from the battle and to save his relatives and the inhabitants of the Earth. He calls to guard and protect everybody from the horrors of the destructive war (M.V. 93.31-39). Continuing this talk with king Dhṛtāraṣṭra, Kṛṣṇa advises him to settle the problem with peace and to order all the kings, assembled here from all the parts of the Earth, to go away amicably. Otherwise everybody will be threatened with all-embracing death (*sumahān kṣayaḥ*) (*Ibidem*, *śl.* 28).

In ancient India an ambassador's mission was given great significance. It can be explained with the fact, that according to his powers, and also his personal qualities and abilities the ambassador could play the decisive part in the diplomatic negotiations and so to influence the course of events. The ambassador's immunity was recognized by law in the *Arthaśāstra* also (*Artha*, I.16.13-17) [7]. According to the same source (*Artha*, I.16.1-4) [8], ambassadors and envoys were of three categories: 1) Ambassador plenipotentiary, whoes task was to conduct the affair (*nisṛṣṭārtha-dūta*); he had the complete powers of a Minister plenipotentiary and was able to negotiate independantly and to act on his own and according to the circumstances; 2) Ambassador with limited power (*parimitārtha-dūta*), who was not allowed in the negotiations to deviate from the instructions he had been given and to exeed his authority; and 3) Ambassador-Messenger (*śāsanahara-dūta*), who was a special messanger whoes duty was only to transfer (in the *Mahābhārata* orally) the entrusted message and to bring back the answer. He was not empowered to negotiate at all [9]. In the considered text of the *Udyogaparva* Sanjaya and Ulūka (the envoys of the Kauravas) belonged to the third category (*sāsanahara-dūta*), that is they were only messengers, transmitting a message and bringing back a reply. Kṛṣṇa, as it will be seen from the further narration, was the ambassador of the first category (*nisṛṣṭārtha-dūta*), having potent powers for negotiating and the right to settle the arising problems self-depedantly.

The methods which Kṛṣṇa uses according to the *Mahābhārata* to carry out his ambassadorial mission are especially interesting in this connection. Starting to accomplish the entrusted task Kṛṣṇa displays great care and tact. Trying to persuade Duryodhana in his favour Kṛṣṇa at first speaks most friendly with him, with plenty of various praising epithets (*M.* V.122.7). However, even before this, just after his arrival, Kṛṣṇa paying courtesy visits to the Kauravas behaves himself with great dignity, with this underlying the importance of the mission entrusted to him and his firmness and incorruptibility. And when Duryodhana

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7. *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, Part I, A critical edition with a glossary, by R. P. Kangle, Bombay, 1960, p. 21. Russian translation: *Arthaśāstra or Science of Politics*, Translation from Sanskrit, Edition prepared by V. I. Kalyanov, Moscow-Leningrad, 1959, p. 38.

8. *Arthaśāstra*, Russian translation, p. 38.

9. A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 300, 326; R. P. Kangle, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

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invites Kṛṣṇa to him to taste the meal cooked for the occasion, Kṛṣṇa replies with a polite refusal (*M.* V.89.10). Then Duryodhana asks him (*Ibidem*, *śl.* 13-14): « Why, o Janārdana, did you not accept the meal and the drink, clothes and the bed, which were brought to you? It is you who gives help to both sides and endeavours for the good of both sides? You are Dhṛtarāṣṭra's relative also and you are sweet for him, o Mādhava! ». And these words were replied by the great Govinda (*Ibidem*, *śl.* 18): « Ambassadors enjoy meals and accept honours only after they have achieved their aim. Therefore only then, when my aim would be achieved, you will be able, o the descendant of Bharata, to honor me and my companions (with your hospitality) ».

In analogic way Kṛṣṇa negotiates with the powerful king Jarāsandha, who kept in his prison 86 conquered kings intending to sacrifice them to the god Rudra-Śiva. Having artfully changed their appearance, disguised as wandering Brahmanas, Kṛṣṇa together with Bhīmasena and Arjuna comes unexpectedly to this king. Seeing them unusually clad, the astonished Jarāsandha still wants to receive them with proper honoures (*M.* II.19.28-32) [10]. But Kṛṣṇa rejects the offered hospitality and honoures (*M.* II.19.29-50) [11]. He suggests that Jarāsandha should first release all the kings suffering in his prison or contest with one of the three unusual visitors (*M.* II.20.23-24). Jarāsandha rejecting to carry out Kṛṣṇa's demand, the duel with Bhīmasena determins his fate and the kings are released (*M.* II.22.1-9) [12].

Negotiating with Duryodhana, Kṛṣṇa first hoping to incline him to peace addresses him most respectfully and leads the negotiations in the most benevolent way, ascribing Duryodhana the virtues, which he did not possess at all. Offering him to conclude peace with the Pāṇḍavas, Kṛṣṇa says in particular: « You see, o my dear brother, the prosperity of the whole world depends on the conclusion of peace. You are endowed with modesty, you are of high birth and marked with erudition and gentleness. So be obedient, o my dear, to your mother's and father's orders, o bull of Bharata's race » (*M.* V.122, 16-17).

Offering peace to the Kauravas headed by Duryodhana, Kṛṣṇa strives for peace not as a humble applicant, but he does not forget to remind about the invincible power of the Pāṇḍavas, who cannot be defeated by all the armies of the hostile kings coalition concentrated here (122.47). Through their ambassador Kṛṣṇa the Pāṇḍavas demand the peaceful settlement of the aroused conflict and the voluntary return of the half of their hireditary kingdom. The Pāṇḍavas' striving for the

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10. *The Mahābhārata*, vol. II. *Sabhāparvan* (parts 1-2), being the second book of the *Mahābhārata*, the great epic of India, for the first time critically edited by Franklin Edgerton, Poona, BORI, 1943-44.

11. Russian translation: *The Mahābhārata*, Book Two, *Sabhāparvan*, or Book about the Assembly. Translation from Sanskrit and commentary by V. I. Kalyanov, Moscow-Leningrad, 1962, p. 48.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

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peacefull settlement of the arousing conflicts is the main theme running all through the whole *Mahābhārata.*

Seeing the futility of his peaceful appeals Kṛṣṇa intensifies his arguments gradually and warns Duryodhana about the coming danger, for the Pāṇḍavas are strong and able to destroy all their enemies. Not weakness, but strength makes them to strive for this peace. Kṛṣṇa seized with rage already losing his self-control directly declares to Duryodhana (125.2): « Would you like to get yourself on the bed of heroes? Really you shall obtain it, with your counsellors. Just you wait a little longer and the great battle will start ». At last, when the enraged Duryodhana leaves the meeting, Kṛṣṇa offeres to restain him, tieing him up, and narrates a parable appropriate to this case. He is supported by Bhīṣma, who thinks that it is better to get rid of one evil man, than to plunge everybody into destructive war. Gāndhārī, Duryodhana's mother, who was called to the meeting also continues again to bring her son to reason, persuading him not to be stubborn and to agree to the peacefull settlement of the conflict. But, when all her arguments come out futile, she damns Duryodhana. Seeing the complete futility of the efforts to stop him, made by Kṛṣṇa and the elders of the Kuru race, even Duḥsāsana holding the same views with Duryodhana and being his brother, tells him the following words in the assembly of the Kauravas: « If you, o king, do not conclude peace with the Pāṇḍavas on your own will, then without doubt the Kauravas will tie you (hand and foot) and extradite you to Kuntī's son (Yudhiṣṭhira) » (126.22). And Kṛṣṇa, the ambassador of the Pāṇḍavas states in his closing speech: « This is the gravest fault of all the elders of the Kuru race that you have not seized and restrained this king, who is making evil enjoying his authority! I think that time came for this, o the chastiser of foes! And if this is done now, then everything may come to a peacefull end » (126.33-34).

The last attempt of this kind was made by Kṛṣṇa. When his embassy failed, he had on his way back seated Karṇa to his chariot. In order to prevent the fratricidal war Kṛṣṇa, who knew the secret of Karṇa's birth, reveals it to him and offers to take the king's throne, becoming the supreme ruler, as the senior brother of Yudhiṣṭhira (who does not know about it), and then the five brothers — Pāṇḍavas leaded by Yudhiṣṭhira will agree with this for sure (138.6-15). « And let Yudhiṣṭhira, the son of Kuntī, be the heir of the throne and reign under your (sceptre) » (138.18). « So, surrounded with the Pārthas, as the Moon with stars, rule the kingdom, you o Kaunteya, pleasing Kuntī also. And let your friends be glad, and you enemies tremble! Let peace be concluded today between you and the brothers Pāṇḍavas » (138.27-28). But the noble Karṇa remembering the good deeds of Duryodhana, who helped him to enjoy for thirty years reigning without thorn in his side rejects this offer (133.13). He declares to Kṛṣṇa (139.22-23): « But even acquiring this powerful and vast kingdom, o the Slayer of Madhu, I would for

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sure turn it over to Duryodhana, o the chastiser of foes! Let Yudhiṣṭhira whose soul is just be the king for ever ». In that way the last Kṛṣṇa's attempt to achieve peace was not crowned with success. Biding farewell to Karṇa he tells him with great regret: « Now this Earth is probably on the brink of fall, if my words do not penetrate your heart, o Karṇa! » (141, 43).

The text of the source, which we have presented here, show that Kṛṣṇa striving to achieve peace uses in succession the four main mean of politics (*upāyāḥ*), which acquired strictly qualified form in legal treatises, and specifically in *Arthaśāstra* (*Artha*, II.10) [13]. These four means of politics are formulated as following: 1) peaceful negotiations (*sāman*), 2) bribery (*dāna* or *dāma*), 3) sowing dissension (*bheda*) and 4) open attack or use of force (*daṇḍa* or *bala*).

These means are to be used by « a king endowed with valour... to extend his dominion and to keep his hold on his own people » [14]. The enumeration of means presented above can be found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (V.41.2-3), the Laws of Manu (VII, 109), *Yājnavalkya* (I.346), *Śukranīti* (IV.1.27) and in other similar works [15]. In the same form we find it in the *Mahābhārata*. It is important to emphasire, that all these four means of politics, used against an enemy, were aimed to prevent the formation of the coalition against this very ruler [16] and were recomended for use before open millitary actions. And the peaceful negotiations were the first in these means.

And Kṛṣṇa himself after the termination of his embassy speaks about the use of these four methods of politics telling Yudhiṣṭhira about carrying out of the mission he was entrusted with (*M.* V.148.7-8): « At first, o king, I have used all the possible means for the reconciliation, striving to preserve the close fraternal friendship (between them and you), in order to prevent the split of the Kuru race and for the prosperity of all people (on the Earth). When the reconciliation with them was rejected, I had made the second attempt — to cause the split (among them), and also mentioned (your) feats, accomplished by you in relations both with men and gods. And when Suyodhana neglected my reconciling speaches (delivered in the assembly), them I calling kings tried to split (them)... ». « And to prevent split in the Kuru race and to use urgent measures I said also about (you readiness) to offer them a gift » (148.13). (« And I said): Let them return the kingdom to you. And let them not to have authority. And let everything be as it was said by the king (Dhṛtarāṣṭra), the son of Gaṅgā (Bhīṣma) and Vidura. Let the whole kingdom be yours. Leave only five villages (for the Pāṇḍavas). For sure they deserve help from your father, o the best

13. *Arthaśāstra*, Russian translation, p. 79.
14. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. III, Poona, 1946, p. 171.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-75.
16. A. R. G. Tiwari, *Ch. I of Lokapalasabhaparva (Mbh., Bk. II, Ch. V) - A Critical study*, in JIH, vol. 37, part 1 (1959), p. 18.

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of the kings » (147, 15-16). In this case Kṛṣṇa offers a gift or a bribe (*dāna*), as one of the political means, suggesting to return the whole kingdom and to satisfy himself with five villages only. Then Kṛṣṇa continues: « Though he was told this, this impious man did not want to (give you even) these domains. That is why I consider it is the only way (left now) to use the fourth (political mean), that is the severe punishment (*daṇḍaṁ caturtham*) for these villains and nothing else » (148.17). The phrase daṇḍam caturtham means the fourth, the last and the most extreme mean of politics namely the open attack, i.e. the beginning of military actions.

Thus expressing the opinion of the Pāṇḍavas Kṛṣṇa carring out his ambassadorial mission with his specific patience and consistency strived to use all opportunities and means for the peaceful settlment of the imminent conflict. And only when all the opportunities to settle the controversy by peaceful means were exhausted, nothing remained but to use the last means against the Kauravas — the open military actions. And to achieve this only aim Kṛṣṇa (as well as the Pāṇḍavas) began already to act inexorably, using all craft and insidious methods. And this new political ethics, which insistently demands to achieve the ultimate end, which is considered right, by any means, even if sometimes they seem not so right, draws near to the doctrine of Kauṭilya, who lived rather earlier [17].

So, Kṛṣṇa used consistently the four main means of politics, giving priority to the peaceful negotiations. The mentioning in the *Mahābhārata*, as well as in other Sanskrit sources, about the use of the four means of politics (*upāyāḥ*) is the reflection in epic works of the real situation which existed in India since ancient times [18]. At the same time the material of our source, as well as the other legislative books of that epoch (*smṛti*) and numerous political manuals indicate that ancient Indian thinkers taking into consideration the impossibility to reject war compleatly in that epoch, still like Emperor Aśoka strived permanently to avoid war, especially when this war persued aggressive aims [19].

The menace of war on the part of various militant tribes and peoples made necessary the existence of a whole community of the Kshatriyas, who regarded it « a disgrace to die on the bed » (*adharmaḥ kṣatriyasya eṣa yac chayyā-maraṇaṁ bhavet*) (*Śukranītisāra* IV.7.305) [20]. War was their profession, and the situation, which existed, made them to prepare for it permanently. « It was, therefore, — concludes A. S. Altekar, but natural that *Smṛtis* should have felt themselves powerless to recomend

17. On this see: R. N. Dandekar, *Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism*, Ramakrishna Sopal Bhandarkar as an indologist. A Symposium edited by R. N. Dandekar, Poona, BORI, 1976, p. 47.
18. On this see: P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
19. A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 292 f.
20. Quoted from: A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

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an ideal inconsistent with Kshatriya life and too difficult to realisation, not only in ancient India but also in the modern world »[21].

In other words, the theory wich was suggested by the progressive minds of ancient times for the problems of peace and war differed from the really existing practice, which evidences, that through all the century-old history of India wars were waged not less intensivelly than in other countries. But it is interesting, that already in the epoch of the *Mahābhārata* the ancient thinkers tried to develope a theory, meeting their peacefull ideals, which reflected brightly in our epic source[22].

The *Mahābhārata* is entirely dedicated to substantiation of the idea of achieving aim with peaceful means, as for war — it is considered as an indesirable alternative. The peaceful settlement of vexed questions stood out clearly against all other politics. The Indian thinkers advised for war only when peace policy (*sāman*) and diplomatic efforts (*bheda*) failed. And the victory gained by peaceful means was considered preferable[23]. These were the aspiration of the best minds in the past centuries, who were personified by the glorious heroes of the epopee. And among them the divine image of Kṛṣṇa became the bright incarnation of these ideas.

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21. *Ibid.*

22. See: V. I. Kalyanov, *Some external politics problems in ancient Indian epos*, in the book: *Mahābhārata*, Book Five, p. 418.

23. See: V. I. Kalyanov, *Some military problems in ancient Indian epos*, in the book: *Mahābhārata*, Book Four, *Virāṭaparva*, or Book about Virāṭa. Translation from Sanskrit and commentary by V. I. Kalyanov, Leningrad, 1967, p. 154.

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SIEGFRIED LIENHARD

THE MAKING OF A POET

Very little separated the connoisseur from the writer of *kāvya*. This is shown by the fact that a great many critics themselves wrote poetry and that poets possessed critical knowledge that was frequently profound. At the very least they had to be familiar with poetics and allied sciences such as grammar, metrics, lexicography and semantics, but many of them were in fact paṇḍits. Since they were expected to deal with things in a factual manner, and in any case the majority liked to embellish their poetry with learned matter, the sciences that were closely allied in a narrow sense were not enough and a knowledge of numerous other fields was required, above all of erotics (*kāmaśāstra*), logic (*nyāya*), the arts (*kalā*), political science (*arthaśāstra*) and familiarity with such important sources of literary material as the epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* as well as the *Purāṇas*.

Theorists sum up these disciplines under the heading *vyutpatti* (also *śruta* or *abhyāsa*), translated as « training » or « the acquisition of knowledge », and they count *vyutpatti* as being one of the qualifications (*kāvyahetu*) which are necessary for a practising writer. A man is therefore qualified as a poet if he has poetic imagination (*pratibhā* [1]), possesses the required education (*vyutpatti*) and constantly devotes himself to exercises (*abhiyoga*, *prayatna*) both as a beginner and, later, as an experienced writer. The second and third requirements for the composition of *kāvya*, i.e., the study of various sciences and of other authors, and of continually doing exercises, are often lumped together into one which, also called *vyutpatti* or *abhyāsa*, combines reading with practice. *Vyutpatti* thus summed up is the writer's experience, his training, which, when fully completed, was often a laborious one to which the poet usually had to dedicate most of his time.

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1. This is the most common term, but Daṇḍin and Vāmana use *pratibhāna* and Mammaṭa uses *śakti*.

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In general a writer did these exercises either by himself or under the guidance of an experienced teacher — a poet or a paṇḍit — or, in the case of a mature author, among his fellow-poets in the *goṣṭhī*. The exercises might be designed, for example, to give mastery of metrical patterns, to practise imitation or to impart skill in completing intentionally unfinished stanzas. An easier exercise which must have appealed to beginners consisted in composing stanzas in various forms paying attention only to euphony and the metrical rules without having to consider whether the words and the order in which they were used formed a correct sentence. The following stanza is a good example of this sort of euphonic-metrical exercise. The verse form is the Indravajrā. The choice of words, however, is quite clearly determined by the mellifluous weak consonants, particularly the link *nd*:

ānandasandohapadāravinda-
kundendukandoditabinduvṛndam /
indindirāndolitamandamanda-
niṣyandanandanmakarandavandyam // [2]

Another exercise, intended to test the pupil's vocabulary, was to find synonyms for certain words in a stanza which was often taken from the work of some prominent poet. Synonym books and other works of reference, such as Vopadeva's dictionary *Kavikalpadruma*, « The Poet's Wishing-Tree » [3], were frequently used for this exercise. Others, such as Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī's *Kavīndrakalpadruma* [4], contained models for creative literary work which the author expressly stated were intended to serve the novice as a kind of poetry primer. An example taken from the introductory stanza of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* will illustrate how a vocabulary exercise may work. The original version runs:

vāg-*arthāv iva* saṃpṛktau vāg-*arthapratipattaye /*
jagataḥ pitarau *vande* pārvatī-parameśvarau // [5]

The exercise, which also aims at developing metrical skill, now requires that synonyms be substituted for certain parts of the sentence, in this

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2. Kṣemendra, *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* I, 21. The stanza consists of two long compounds divided equally between the two halves. With the exception of the two final members *vṛnda* and *vandya*, the words are prior members arranged in a row one after the other. A translation might give something like the following meaningless series of word: « Multitudes of joy, lotus-foot, jasmine, moon, drops arisen from roots; (large) bee, swinging, slowly dropping down, rejoicing, flowerjuice, to be venerated ».

3. Vopadeva Gosvami, *Kavikalpadruma*. Critically ed. by G. B. Palsule, Poona, 1945 (= Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography).

4. Cf. J. Eggeling, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Part VII, London, 1904, No. 3947.

5. *Raghuv.* I, 1. « So that (I) may be granted word and meaning, I greet you, Pārvatī and the Highest (i.e., Śiva), parents of the world, twined together like word and meaning ».

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case the words *vāc, sampṛkta, pitṛ, pārvatī* and *parameśvara.* These synonyms must be of the same length as the words replaced and must fit the metrical system exactly.

vāṇy-*arthāv iva* saṃyuktau vāṇy-*arthapratipattaye* /
jagato janakau *vande* śarvāṇī-śaśiśekharau //[6]

Theorists are united in believing that it is when the poet is working under the above demands that *pratibhā* is of the greatest importance. H. Jacobi's rendering of *pratibhā* as « poetic or creative imagination » is probably the best. It is partly the « flashing upon the thought » (*prati-bhā*) of an illuminating artistic idea in the mind of the poet and partly the particular ability (*śakti*) to turn it to good account, i.e., to utilise the idea in some poem, long or short, and give it concrete expression in form and content (*artha* and *śabda*). Most critics regard this ability as being a natural gift (*naisargika*) with which one is born (*sahaja*) but, like Daṇḍin and Rudraṭa, consider it possible that poetic talent, even when it is not innate, can be acquired to a certain extent by diligent practice and veneration of the goddess Sarasvatī[7]. This sort of late development is, however, always laborious. Daṇḍin, Rudraṭa, Rājaśekhara and others let it clearly be understood that acquired *pratibhā* is definitely inferior to natural talent. Even genuine poetic imagination is not a gift from above which descends on a poet more or less by chance, as is generally supposed. On the contrary, it is an acquired faculty gained by merit of acts (*karman*) performed in previous existences which have influenced the poet's mind in such a way that they have left behind a residue of latent mental impressions (*saṃskāra*) which has matured in his present life to genuine, innate *pratibhā*[8]. An acute definition, even by modern standards of literary criticism, is that given by Abhinavagupta who, when taking up Ānandavardhana's ideas, called poetic imagination a sort of intuitive ability (*prajñā*) which enables the poet continually to create something new which strikes the reader, too, as original[9].

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6. Kṣemendra, *loc. cit.*

7. Exceptions are, for example, Vāmana and Jagannātha. Vāmana, who accepts genuine *pratibhā* alone, is of the opinion that any attempt to acquire poetic talent by one's own efforts can only excite laughter; see *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti* ad. I, 3, 16: *yasmād* (i.e., *pratibhānād*) *vinā kāvyaṃ na niṣpadyate niṣpannaṃ vā hāsyāyatanaṃ syāt.* Jagannātha, on the other hand, although also recognizing a single power of imagination (*Rasagaṅgādhara,* VBhSG, p. 25: *kevalā pratibhā*), sees it as having three origins, sometimes through grace (*prasāda*) coming from a god or from a *mahāpuruṣa* and sometimes acquired by *vyutpatti* or *abhyāsa* (*ibid.*, p. 26).

8. See Daṇḍin, *Kāvyād.* I, 104: *pūrvavāsanāguṇānubandhi pratibhānam adbhutam;* Vāmana, *Kāvyālaṃkāras.* I, 3, 16: *kavitvabījaṃ pratibhānam* and in his *vṛtti* to this: *kavitvasya bījaṃ kavitvabījaṃ janmāntarāgatasaṃskāraviśeṣaḥ kaścit;* similarly Mammaṭa, *Kāvyaprakāśavṛtti* ad. I, 3: *śaktiḥ kavitvabījarūpaḥ saṃskāraviśeṣaḥ;* Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyam.* IV (GOS, p. 12): *janmāntarasaṃskārāpekṣiṇī sahajā;* the same thought is to be found in Abhinavagupta, *Abhinavabhāratī* VII, 2.

9. *apūrvavastunirmāṇakṣama.*

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To gain a true understanding of the manner in which the *kavi* works it is necessary to bear in mind that most literary theorists do not consider *pratibhā* to be the only prerequisite for a career as a poet. In fact, none of the three qualifications we have discussed, poetic imagination, training and practice, is in itself sufficient; it is, as Mammaṭa expressly states, the combination of all these *kāvyahetus* that provides the common ground (not: grounds) on which the successful creation and excellence of poetry may be built [10]. Even if poetic imagination was the decisive factor in the work of some writers, the poet's creative process was nevertheless strictly regulated by norms the observance and application of which were watched over by critics, fellow-poets and the *goṣṭhīs*. Classical poets also built their work on original concepts, but their inspiration was kept strictly within bounds. Their creative activity had to obey numerous objective laws, which tended to make poetic composition easier, and it had to follow conventions that laid down in detail the way in which many themes were to be dealt with. A great many themes and set phrases turn up again and again and although the rules were originally based on accepted practice, as in other literatures, they were further developed by theorists and these developments in their turn subsequently influenced poetic practice. As a result, what classical poetry offers us is a world that is to a certain extent predetermined, its raw material partly pre-set. The methods poets employ also show a tendency towards the reconstruction and reorganization of existing material into new combinations so that the poetic or artistic element frequenty consists merely of novel, unusual or surprising juxtapositions of two or more standard components. This stock of themes and the associations that accompany them, which have been available since far earlier times, have been used by every poet to create situations and phrases. As he has inherited an exceedingly large number of themes, he generally chooses only a few of them but, if he is a master, he is careful always to find new combinations, new phrases and similes so as to give his theme or situation the brilliance of the hitherto unexpressed (*apūrva*) and thereby delight the educated reader.

This phenomenon is not limited to *kāvya* alone. We find a stock of given themes, situations and set phrases both in other highly-developed Indian literatures and in other eras (for instance in European Antiquity and, in India, in *Caṅkam* lyrical poetry written in Tamil) where fixed conventions, well-established by long and subtle use, relieved the poet of some of his labour. *kāvya* appears to have been particularly rich in patterns and set phrases such as these and, in fact, we discover few aspects of life that have not in some way or other been preconceived and already shaped, either *in toto* or in certain details, and which do not provide bricks that the poet is obliged to use in his construction.

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10. *Kāvyaprakāśavṛtti* ad I, 3: *trayaḥ samuditāḥ, na tu vyastāḥ, tasya kāvyasyodbhave nirmāṇe samullāse ca hetur na tu hetavaḥ.*

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This can be studied to advantage in short poems (*muktaka*) and single stanzas from longer works which deal with the same theme. Let us choose as an example the monsoon, one of the favourite themes of Indian poetry, the correct literary description of which must contain a whole series of stereotyped elements. The list includes, for instance, clouds and wind; showers and lightning; rushing rivers swollen by rain; roads on which the dust has been laid; dancing, screaming peacocks gladdened by the sight of clouds; herons accompanying the clouds; the velvet-insect [11]; ketakī-, kadamba-, nīpa-, nimba- and kuṭaja-blossom; the nightly love-promenades of young women (*abhisārikā*); the love games of the beloved in well-roofed dwellings protected from rain and storm; the traveller who, eagerly awaited by his beloved, hastens to set out on his journey home or who has arrived before the outbreak of the monsoon [12]. When the poet wished to deal with the rainy season theme, he would immediately turn to these stock attributes [13], employing at least one if the poem were short. In a longer poem he would probably use most of them. He could follow traditional practice even where details were concerned by making use of well-known expressions, similes and set phrases. When describing a cloud, for instance, he could compare its dark mass to a drum, a mountain or an elephant, or he could say of clouds that they were dense (*ghana*), hanging low (*avalambin*), bearing a burden of water (*toyabhāra*), or describe their denseness as a veil of cloud or a cover of cloud (*ghanapaṭala*, *jaladapaṭala*, *payodharapaṭala* [14]), etc. However, even a tradition that placed as great an importance as *kāvya* did on common sources which had been handed down could realise that themes and set phrases might, in the end, beome hackneyed. In order to avoid clichés, the poet could then renew these expressions by making them highly connotive or ambiguous, thus allowing them to be interpreted differently — in a spiritual or a witty manner — or use stock phrases and attributes in a new sense. What was important was that in every phase of the creative process the *kavi* had to choose between words from the literary and the non-literary vocabulary. To keep to our example of a cloud, he could select names like *ghana*, *jīmūta*, *balāhaka*, *megha*, or *ambuda*, *ambhoda*, *jalada*, *nīrada*, *payoda*, *vārida* (bestowing water), *ambodhara*, *jaladhara*, *nīradhara*, *payodhara* (bearing water), or *jalavāha*, *vārivāha* (bringing water), *jalamuc*, *payomuc*, *vārimuc* (releasing water), etc. From among these, he would search

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11. Generally called *indragopa*: a bright-red mite with a velvety skin incorrectly translated in some dictionaries as « Leuchtkäfer », Eng. « fire-fly »; cf. MONIER-WILLIAMS, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

12. It should be stressed that this list does not by any means cover all the possibilities, but only records the most important structures.

13. I use this term borrowed from art history to describe the various phenomena (e.g. « dancing peacocks ») associated with a given theme (in this case, the monsoon theme).

14. Also similar compounds using other words for « cloud ».

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for just the expression that suited the context and the metre [15]. Let us look at a few stanzas.

upari ghanaṃ ghanapaṭalaṃ tiryag girayo 'pi nartitamayūrāḥ /
kṣitir api kandaladhavalā dṛṣṭiṃ pathikaḥ kva pātayati // [16]

« On high a dense fabric of cloud. To one side, the mountains with dancing peacocks. The earth white with blossom: where is the traveller to look? » In this stanza by Bhartṛhari the much-loved phrase *ghanapaṭala* (veil of cloud) is modified by the adjective *ghana* (dense) which, being a homonym of the noun (*ghana*), gives the text greater interest. He also introduces a second and third attribute associated with rain — the dancing peacocks and the traveller.

This semi-automatic technique is pursued even further in another short poem in which we also find the expression *ghanapaṭala*. According to Vallabhadeva, the author is a poet called Vṛddhi, i.e., Śakravṛddhi. He plays with the words « clouds » (*payodhara*), « the disappearance of the dust » (*rajas*) and the « veil of clouds », but reinforces the poetic power of these elements by giving all of them double meanings:

apagatarajovikārā ghanapaṭalakrāntatārakālokā /
lambapayodharamālā prāvṛḍ iyaṃ vṛddhavaniteva // [17]

As the first three parts of the sentence, which are all ambiguous, refer both to the subject and the object of the comparison, we can translate either as: « This monsoon is like an aged woman; gone is the burden of the dust, clouds veil the light of the stars and multitudes of clouds hang down » or as « This monsoon is like an aged woman; she is free from the trouble of menstruation, her pupil is covered with coarse-grained cataract and her breasts hang down ».

The comparison of a cloud to a loud drum is made in the two following verses. In the first, a stanza taken from Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, dancing peacocks are again introduced as an indication of the rain theme; in the second, whose author is said to be a certain Jayamāghava [18], kadamba-blossom, a tree whose flowering is caracteristic of this season:

jaladapaṅktir anartayad unmadaṃ kalavilāpi kalāpikadambakam /
kṛtasamārjanamardalamaṇḍaladhvanijayā nijayā svanasampadā // [19]

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15. Compounds such as *jalada, jaladhara, jalavāha, jalamuc,* etc. can act as models for other, possibly more complicated names.
16. Bhartṛhari, *Śṛṅgāraś.* 92 (Kosmabi).
17. *Subhāṣitāvali* 1738; *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* 231 (which has *payodharabhārā* instead of *-mālā*).
18. Vallabhadeva ad *Subhāṣitāvali* 1758.
19. *Śiśupālavadha* VI, 31.

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« The row of clouds with its fullness of notes, which rumbled (like) the beat of a great many oiled drums, made the excited flock of sweetly calling peacocks dance ».

atha manasijadigjayābhiśaṃsī
jaladharadundubhir ātatāna śabdam /
tadanu tadanujīvibhiḥ kadambaiḥ
kavicitam unmadaṣaṭpadacchalena // [20]

« Now resounded the rain-cloud drum which proclaimed the world-wide victory of the (King) God of Love. Then his servants, the kadambas, donned their armour, assuming the appearance of (dark-coloured) drunken bees ». Both poems are the product of highly-developed verbal artistry and show clearly, as does other poetry, how consciously Sanskrit writers worked on the construction of a *kāvya*. Their poems are in fact compositions and grow out of a clearly thought-out process based on a free but carefully made choice of all the elements. The process itself is governed by fixed rules which are valid for all poets. Far more important than the choice of themes, attributes, set phrases and words, however, is another process taking place at the same time; the organization and co-ordination of these elements at all levels, which gives the composition the quality of a work of art and, more than any other single act on the part of the poet, converts his ideas into reality. We can discern the watchful hand of a conscious artist behind both the above poems. Mastery of language is revealed in particular in the stanza by Māgha, who was recognized as a virtuoso. In accordance with an increasingly important principle, he makes the length of his sentence coincide with the stanza and builds up his verbal structure within this rhythmic-syntactic framework so that it is highly alliterative and at the same time shows agreement between expression and content. What strikes the cultivated reader is the novel use made of the cloud-drum attribute which Māgha clearly associates with the field of music:

> Like trained birds, peacocks dance to the thunder of the clouds as if to the music of drums.

Jayamāghava, on the other hand, employs warlike imagery:

> Like a king, the god Kāma proclaims his victory with drumbeats while those shown as his followers, the kadambas, put on their shining, dusky armour [21].

The reader is shown a new aspect of reality by being presented with an attribute with which he is thoroughly acquainted in a sense that is

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20. *Subhāṣitāvali* 1758.

21. The way was prepared for this warlike imagery in the descriptions of rain in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Ṛtusaṃhāra*, in both of which clouds are compared to an army, a war-drum and a battle-flag; see V. RAGHAVAN, *Rtu in Sanskrit Literature*. Delhi, 1972 (= Saradiya Jnana Mahotsava Lecture Series), p. 16 and p. 47.

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new and surprising. In other words, the poet paints the reader a picture in which all the details are familiar yet which strikes him as original because they are re-arranged into a quite new pattern. In both these poems, as in the two previously mentioned, it becomes evident that attributes are elements which can be handled with considerable freedom, whereas we recognize set phrases as being formed on typical models which have a tendency to recur with a fixed word-order if they are in the same sort of context. Indeed, they may even be so much a part of the attribute that they form its linguistic aspect. Something that set phrases have in common with poetic wording is that although, like the names of people, animals and things, other words may easily be substituted for the various elements they contain, they do not willingly change their structure. A poet using a set phrase meaning « veil of clouds » may replace the prior member of, for example, *ghanapaṭala* with some synonym and write *meghapaṭala*, *payodharapaṭala*, *jīmūtapaṭala*, etc. This enables almost any set phrase to be adapted rhythmically or from the assonance/consonance point of view to the metrical or contextual demands of the passage. We must, however, admit that in this case none of the variants contain the neat double meaning of *ghanapaṭala* — « veil of cloud » or « thick veil ». In *Śiśupālavadha* VI, 31, Māgha uses the expression *jaladapaṅkti* for « row of clouds » as it is demanded in this context by the metre and the sound (the preference for the vowel *a* at the beginning of the stanza), but it can of course be varied (*ambudapaṅkti*, *jaladharapaṅkti*, *balāhakapaṅkti*, *ambudarekhā*, *jaladharārekhā*, *balāhakarekhā*, etc.). Jayamāghava, on the other hand, chooses the equally euphonious, metrically exactly correct *jaladharadundubhi* for « cloud drum », which can be replaced in other contexts by *meghadundubhi*, *payodharadundubhi*, *meghamardala*, *payodharamardala*, etc.

Attributes occupy a far more important place in the poetic hierarchy than set phrases. One of their characteristics is that they have been able to preserve their poetic force throughout the development of *kāvya* due to the fact that it is possible to use them in ways that create a surprise effect. As they are continually being given new references, they are the material with which poetic pictures are made. Since the primary function of attributes was to show characteristics of the theme to be described, the predominant practice in older phases of *kāvya* was to give a long sequence of attributes, which usually consisted of merely naming conventional ones — although in considerable numbers and in some detail — either in a single stanza or at most in a few. In later times a different procedure was adopted: the aim of the poet became elaboration. Instead of a multiplicity, a minimum of attributes appeared in a single stanza: particularly when composing short poems, the poet now realized his ideas with the aid of only a few attributes which he scrutinized as it were close-up and, by the clever use of poetic figures (*alaṃkāra*), similes (*upamā*), witty interpretation (*ut-*

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prekṣā), etc., gave the simple image a new and wider perspective. Sometimes he sought to confuse the reader, as perhaps Māgha did in the stanza quoted above. We cannot conclusively prove that the word *kadambaka* in *Śiśupālavadha* VI, 31 is really employed with this object in mind, but one might easily be misled by a superficial reading into thinking that the reference is to the kadamba- tree. A second reading soon corrects this misapprehension, for *kalāpi-kadambaka*, taken together, is a sort of periphrastic plural giving the meaning « host of peacocks ». However we judge this passage, this sort of concealed play on words and other elements is quite typical of literary texts in Sanskrit and Prākrit.

We can follow the development from a sequence of attributes towards a concentration on only one or two in the following stanzas, all of which contain references to another conventional attribute associated with the monsoon theme — the previously mentioned rain-mite, Skt. *indragopa(ka)*, *śakragopa(ka)*. We find a sequence of attributes in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* XXVIII, 41, which is admittedly only a very small part of a much longer, detailed description of the rainy season:

prahṛṣṭasaṃnāditabarhiṇāni saśakragopākulaśādvalāni /
caranti nīpārjunavāsitāni gajāḥ suramyāṇi vanāntarāni //

« Elephants move through charming, wooded strips of land in which peacocks cry joyfully and the juicy grass of which is full of rain-mites and the smell of Nīpa- and Arjuna- blossom ». The attributes listed here are: peacocks crying joyfully, grass that is juicy because of rain that has just fallen, rain-mites, Nīpa- and Arjuna- blossom. *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* XIII, 37 is also part of a long description of rain. Here the poet has made use of three attributes only: clouds, fresh grass and rain-mites. Nevertheless they are linked together into a single united image far better than in the stanza from the *Rāmāyaṇa*:

namaty ayaṃ śyāmalaśaṣpamaṇḍalasthitendragopapracayāsu
vāridaḥ /
giristhalīṣu cyutaśakrakārmukabhramād ivodbhrāntataḍidvilo-
canaḥ //

« Under the erroneous impression of (having seen) something like a fallen rainbow, the cloud bows its flashing eyes down to the mountain on whose patches of dark grass there are hosts of rain-mites ». What we see here is: the red *indragopa(ka)s*, here called *harigopa(ka)s*, are contrasted with the dark-green grass on the mountains thus creating the illusion of a red and green rainbow shining on the mountains where it has fallen. Filled with curiosity, the cloud bends down to examine the miraculous phenomenon with its eyes, the flashes of lightning. Uñcchavṛtti is even bolder: he also uses clouds and *indragopas*, but

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puts them into a most unusual relationship, creating new constellations which he employs with great poetic effect:

bhraṣṭair meghaśukāghātadalitād arkadāḍimāt /
phalair iva mahī piṅgaiḥ pūritā harigopakaiḥ // [22]

« The earth is filled with reddish-brown rain-mites: (they look) like the split seeds of a pomegranate-sun that has been broken into pieces by the hammering of parrots, (i.e.), of the clouds ».

If we sum up the above analyses, we come to the conclusion that classical poets built up their texts in several layers. Here we should like to emphasize once again that complicated, interwoven layers are not to be found in non-literary texts of an ordinary or scientific nature except in rudimentary form. When they do occur it is due to the influence of poetry, but they are not employed in a poetic manner, are not connected to each other and, above all, they are not worked out in detail. In *kāvya*, on the other hand, they form a hierarchy in the following order:

Theme
|
Application [23]
|
Attribute(s)
|
Set phrase(s): Words

If we arrange the components of the above stanzas by Bhartṛhari, Śakravṛddhi, Māgha, Jayamāghava, Vālmīki and Bilhaṇa according to this model [24], we get:

Monsoon
|
A cloud looking at the rainbow created by *indragopas*;
Peacocks dancing to the drum-music of the clouds.
|
Clouds, rain-mites, peacocks, etc.
|
Various words for « clouds » such as *ghana, jalada, vārida*, etc.

The order given here is not really as hierarchical as it appears. In fact, the various levels in a poem are not directly superimposed on one another; rather, they interact and thereby produce the typical density, the complexity and the structural formation of poetry. It is a characteristic of *kāvya* that the different layers are intimately related to each other and that the unity of a text is not to be assessed as the sum of

22. *Subhāṣitāvali* 1722.
23. I employ this term to denote the use to which an attribute is put.
24. For the structure of classical Tamil lyrical poetry, cf. K. V. Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature*, Wiesbaden, 1974 (= *A History of Indian Literature* X, 1), p. 26 ff.

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its parts, but as being due to this relationship and the complicated, often concealed interplay of the elements.

It is unfortunately not here possible to deal with all the fields in which the poet must exercise care and accuracy. We may regard suitability (*aucitya*) as being the guiding principle employed by the *kavi* in his choice of metre, word, style or attribute. On every level of *kāvya*, both from the point of view of sound and of intellectual content, it helped in the selection of those elements that best fitted the given theme. We saw above how a certain description governed the choice of definite attributes as far as content is concerned, and, if we read carefully, we shall discover that the same desire for accuracy also regulates the choice of similes, words, attributes and their application. They are all selected with an eye to their suitability and should be attuned as closely as possible to the sense of a stanza or to the atmosphere of a longer passage, a chapter or, indeed, even of a whole *kāvya*. In *Sarga* XXII of Bhaṭṭi's Rāma poem, usually known as *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, it is certainly not by chance, but by intention that the poet chooses the *Praharṣiṇī* (rejoicing) metre for two passages. Chapter XXII, which describes Rāma's and Sītā's final return to Ayodhyā, is the closing song of the poem. In stanzas 26 and 27 this metre, which moves bristly and expresses joy (notice the finite verb *nananda*, « rejoice ») [25], emphasizes Rāma's pleasure when, looking down from his air-borne chariot *Puṣpaka*, he beholds Mount Citrakūṭa and the Ganges beneath him:

ete te munijanamaṇḍitā digantāḥ
śailo 'yaṃ lulitavanaḥ sa citrakūṭaḥ /
gaṅgeyaṃ sutanu viśālatīraramyā
maithilyā raghutanayo diśan nananda //

« (Behold) here the regions embellished by (the presence of) ascetics, here Mount Citrakūṭa with its undulating forests and there, oh slim one [26], the broad banks of the lovely Ganges. The descendant of Raghu [27] rejoiced to show (all this) to Maithilī [26] ».

Another example: The first song in the *Raghuvaṃśa* describes the visit of king Dilīpa and his consort to the grove of ascetics presided over by the sage Vasiṣṭha. Stanza 56 relates how they meet the guru after he has performed the twilight ceremonies. Kālidāsa portrays the scene in two short similes which may seem somewhat trivial at first sight. A re-reading, however, reveals an important characteristic of the poet's method. In this passage the seer Vasiṣṭha, who has great experience of sacrifices and has been credited with composing a large number of *Ṛgveda* hymns, and his wife Arundhatī are compared by Kālidāsa with concepts taken from the vocabulary of sacrifice and not with ideas

25. Kṣemendra (*Suvṛttatilaka* II, 19) and others attest to the power of this metre to convey joy.
26. I.e., Sītā.

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casually chosen from some other field of life. This is correct from the poetic point of view and is also in agreement with the principle of *aucitya*:

vidheḥ sāyaṃtanasyānte sa dadarśa taponidhim /
anvāsitam arundhatyā svāhayeva havirbhujam //

« At the conclusion of the twilight rites (King Dilīpa) saw the treasure of asceticism [28], like a fire accompanied by the sacrificial cry " svāhā ", whom [28] Arundhatī was assisting ». Observe that the simile is constructed with careful attention to gender: Vasiṣṭha is compared to fire, which is masculine in Sanskrit; Arundhatī to « svāhā », which is feminine. As slips are to be found even in the work of important poets, it is not unimportant to note the great pains Kālidāsa has taken to be accurate.

One does not have to read many literary texts before being struck by this endeavour to achieve accuracy. It is never the aim of a poet merely to give a beautiful poetic rendering of a theme. Going further than our conception of pure aesthetic effect, he attempts to build up the theme correctly from the objective point of view, that is to say to choose the right attributes, the right associations, etc. It is one of the characteristics of classical Indian poetry that the desire to give an exact description of an object extends down to the smallest details, which are carefully worked out so as to reflect the need to find the most appropriate expression for each attribute, the most suitable simile, etc. These strict requirements were not always easy to fulfil, for the author always ran the risk of discovering that he had neglected to pay sufficient attention to the poetic side of his work or to its scientific, learned aspects. The long history of *kāvya* shows that it was, in fact, perfectly possible to meet all these requirements. The delicate balance between poetic genius and exact description is masterfully maintained in quite a few poems and both readers and listeners, the connoisseurs, were highly conscious of the fact that each of these two aspects formed part of the enjoyment of poetry. Discussions in critical works and in commentaries to individual *kāvyas* take up questions both of expression and of content and let it clearly be understood that, in their opinion, the presence of factual errors will diminish the value of a *kāvya*.

We must judge the nature and personality of the classical Indian poet from a quite different standpoint than that taken when considering writers in the Western tradition or modern authors. Above all it would be wrong to think of him as being in some way related to the European idea of a Romantic poet — drunk with daemonic inspiration, his head in the clouds, writing to fulfil his artistic nature. With the exception of certain holy men belonging to later religious groups or sects in whom a burning devotion to God (*bhakti*), mixed in some cases with Tantric

27. I.e., Rāma.
28. Vasiṣṭha.

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beliefs, might lead to transports of spontaneous poetry[29], and also with the possible exception of the Vedic poet-seer, the concept of the undisciplined poet autoschediastically composing great works with a sort of somnambulistic certainty is entirely alien to the Indian tradition. The attitude of the *kavi* was totally different. He worked at his text in a deliberate manner and, governed by a host of rules and norms, put his lines carefully together. In actual fact, not one single Sanskrit or Prākrit poem gives any hint of a state resembling Cicero's *afflatus quasi furoris*. If the Indian poet could create imagery that far exceeded in boldness anything that his Western counterpart produced, his methods of work and even his poetic imagination (*pratibhā*) were constantly held in check. Moreover, definite procedures such as the realization of the poet's intentions in similes containing several members, in paronomasia (*śleṣa*) or in the implied (*dhvani*) left no room for the blind dictates of grandiose inspiration. It was one of the conditions of *kāvya* not only that the message should conform to the poetic codex in the narrow sense, but also that it should be factually correct. Naturally, this did not mean that the classical poet was not free to follow a flash of inspiration or some subconscious mental process if he wished. What was essential was that whatever he wrote, whether it was the result of plodding labour or of inspiration, should be submitted to rigorous criticism, have its accuracy checked and be corrected if necessary. The disciplined poet was not prepared to write haphazardly and at irregular intervals but set aside a definite period of time for each step in the creative process, including re-reading, revision and improvement. It cannot be denied that this conscientious, somewhat hide-bound attitude of authors to their work had a conservative effect and is therefore partly responsible for the great unity — uniformity even — of classical poetry. We observe time and again that the differences between one poet and another as far as their manner of writing is concerned are not normally in essentials. They seldom contravene either the themes or the forms sanctioned by tradition, but are clearly a matter of detail. As the history of *kāvya* shows, individual authors sought renewal and effect primarily through profundity and, when attempting something new, did not allow the novelty of their work to express itself in drastic changes but rather in ever greater refinement, by surpassing either earlier poetry or, more commonly, similar works by other poets.

29. One of the best examples is the Bauls of Bengal.

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H. G. NARAHARI *

AN OLD MISUNDERSTOOD MAXIM

For the understanding of the old maxim: *alābhe mattakāśinyā dṛṣṭā tiryakṣu kāmitā*, Jacob [1] relies upon the explanation supplied by a Raghunātha which runs:

> *Yatrādhikārthalābhe'lpārthe pravṛttir na doṣāyeti vivakṣāyāṁ tatrālābhe mattakāśinyā dṛṣṭā tiryakṣu kāmiteti nyāyaḥ / mattakāśinī strīviśeṣaḥ //*

On the basis of this explanation he translates the maxim: « Failing to obtain a lovely woman, affection is seen (to have been lavished) on animals ». The literal meaning of the maxim is, no doubt, even as Jacob feels, « very stupid », even quite obscene and hurtful to civilized consciousness. But when we see that the maxim is quite popular among old philosophers like Udayana (10th cent. A.D.) and Ānandabodha (11th cent. A.D.) who employ it in their important works to explain some recondite problems, it cannot be brushed aside with contempt. The contextual meaning it derives in these learned texts removes all the baseness which can be attributed to it on the basis of its literal sense.

While rejecting as impossible the view that there is positive and permanent (*nitya*) bliss (*sukha*) in the state of liberation (*mokṣa*), Udayana [2] says:

> *Durantaṁ ca tat / tad abhisandheḥ sukhasaṁskārasahakāritayā tad udbhave viśiṣṭasukhābhilāṣiṇo vaiṣayike'pi pravṛttisaṁbhavāt / « alābhe mattakāśinyā dṛṣṭā tiryakṣu kamite » ti udāharaṇāt //*

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1. *Laukikanyāyāñjali*, Bombay, 1907, I.7.
2. *Ātmatattvaviveka*, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1939, p. 922.

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Śaṅkaramiśra [3] explains the passage as follows:

Nityasukhābhilāṣiṇo vaiṣayikasukhe'pi abhilāṣaḥ syāt / sa ca mokṣavirodhīty arthaḥ / utkṛṣṭābhilāṣe tad aprāptāv apakṛṣṭābhilāṣe dṛṣṭāntam āha / alābheti /

Raghunātha Śiromaṇi's [4] explanation here runs:

Tan nityaṁ sukham / abhisandheḥ kāmānāyāḥ / utkṛṣṭasukhe kāmanāyāṁ tad asampattāv apakṛṣṭe'pi tatra kāmanā jāyata iti / atra dṛṣṭāntam āha / alābha iti //

In almost a similar context the Vedāntin Ānandabodha [5] quotes this maxim in support of his statement:

Paramo hi brahmānandaḥ / ... tathā ca tad gocaro rāgaḥ katham alpīyasyānekaduḥkhasaṁbhinne sāṁsārike sukhe pravartayet / tad alābhe kadācid anyatra pravṛttir bhavet / « alābhe mattakāmi(śi?) nyā dṛṣṭā tiryakṣu kāmate » ti cet / bhavaty evaṁ kasya cin na tu sarvasya mahārambhasyāvyagramanaso vasīkṛtendriyagrāmasya prakṛta evārthe pravṛttisambhavāt / tādṛśa evādhikārī mokṣaśāstre vivakṣitaḥ / na ca sarvādhikāraṁ kim api śāstraṁ sambhavati //

The Vedāntins do accept positive bliss in the state of liberation. The bliss obtained on reaching the state of Brahman is indeed Supreme (*paramo hi brahmānandaḥ*). But this is possible only to the right aspirant who has the necessary equipment for the purpose. He must have subjugated his senses, and his mind must be concentrated on the goal. Lesser men than he, not so equipped and lacking in determination, are liable to be swayed by lesser pleasures which they mistake to be the real and the highest which is the object of their quest. This is what is indicated by our present maxim which, in its philosophical set up, would mean « contentment in a lower prize when the highest is either unrecognized or impossible to obtain ».

3. *Kalpalatā*, p. 924.
4. *Dīdhiti*, p. 925.
5. *Pramāṇamālā*, Chowkāmbā Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1907, pp. 1-2.

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K. R. NORMAN

DHAMMAPADA 97: A MISUNDERSTOOD PARADOX

1. *Introduction*

1.1. In his monograph on faith and knowledge in early Buddhism, Jan T. Ergardt states [1] that included in his hypothesis about the function of the Buddhist message lies the thought that we cannot see the function of faith as the main part of the « credo ». He concludes that this thought may seem paradoxical, but he believes that it may, on the other hand, make meaningful some well-known but puzzling words in the *Nikāya*-literature. He then proceeds to quote Dhp [2] 97:

assaddho akataññū ca sandhicchedo ca yo naro
hatāvakāso vantāso sa ve uttamaporiso.

1.2. He translates *assaddho* as « the one who is without faith ». The other translators of Dhp have avoided this translation, which is the standard one for the word, presumably because they have thought that lack of faith is inappropriate for an *uttamaporisa*. Gogerly translated « not confiding in others » [3], which I take to mean « not having confidence in others ». If this is so, then he was probably influenced by the cty, which explains: *attanā paṭiladdhaguṇaṃ paresaṃ kathāya na saddahatī ti assaddho* (Dhp-a II 187, 18-19). Fausböll translated « non credulus » [4], and Max Müller was doubtless relying on this when he ren-

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1. Jan T. Ergardt, *Faith and Knowledge in early Buddhism*, Leiden, 1977, p. 5.
2. The abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts are those listed in the Epilegomena to the Critical Pāli Dictionary, Copenhagen, 1924-48. Other abbreviations: cty = commentary; PED = The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary; BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit; CPD = Critical Pāli Dictionary; AMg = Ardha-Māgadhī.
3. A. S. Bishop (ed.), *Ceylon Buddhism: being the collected writings of Daniel John Gogerly*, Colombo, 1908, Vol. II, pp. 249-66.
4. V. Fausböll, *Dhammapadam*, Copenhagen, 1855, p. 18.

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dered it as « the man who is free from credulity »[5]. The idea of « credulous » and « credulity » has been continued by Burlingame[6], PED[7], Radhakrishnan[8], and (for the BHS equivalent *aśraddha)* by Edgerton[9]. Mrs Rhys Davids translated « The man who taking (naught) on trust »[10], and Neumann rendered it as « Wer keinem Hörensagen traut »[11].

1.3. After the gloss just quoted (§ 1.2), the cty goes on to tell an introductory story whch is very similar to that related in the *Pubbakoṭṭhaka-sutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (S V 220, 24 - 222, 3), although the verse is not included there. That *sutta* relates how the Buddha asked Sāriputta whether he had faith (*saddahasi, Sāriputta*?) that the faculties of faith (*saddhā*), knowledge (*paññā*), etc., when practised, lead to *nibbāna* (*amata-pariyosānaṃ*). Sāriputta replies that he does not have faith in the Buddha in this matter (*na Bhagavato saddhāya gacchāmi*); other persons who had not realised this for themselves by knowledge (*paññāya*) would have faith in others in this matter (*yesaṃ hi taṃ bhante aññātaṃ assa..., te tattha paresaṃ saddhāya gaccheyyuṃ*). Those, however, who had realised this for themselves by knowledge would be without doubt (*nibbicikicchā*) in the matter; he himself had realised it for himself, and was without doubt in the matter. The Buddha congratulated him.

1.4. The story in the Dhp-a adds a detail not found in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*. The other *bhikkhus* upbraid Sāriputta because he does not have faith in the Buddha (*sammāsambuddhassa na saddahati*, II 187, 4-5). The Buddha rebukes them, and points out that he had asked Sāriputta whether he believed that a person could gain the fruit of the path without practising the five faculties, and Sāriputta had said that he did not believe that it was possible. Sāriputta did not have faith in other persons about the fruit of the path, etc., because he had realised these things for himself. He was therefore blameless.

1.5. It is clear from this addition to the story that some listeners, whether those at the original occurrence or at a later time (if we are to see this detail as an extension to the story), did not understand that the verb *saddahati* has two slightly different meanings: « to have faith in » and « to take someone's word for something ». Sāriputta said: « The faculty of faith leads to *nibbāna*. I say this not because of faith in the Buddha, but because I know it from experience. I do not (need

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5. F. Max Müller, *The Dhammapada* (Sacred Books of the East X), Oxford, 1881, p. 29.
6. E. W. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, Part II, Cambridge (Mass.), 1921, p. 209.
7. PED, s.v. *saddha*[1].
8. S. Radhakrishnan, *The Dhammapada*, Oxford, 1950, p. 92.
9. F. Edgerton, *BHS Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953, s.v. *aśraddha*.
10. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Minor Anthologies* I, London, 1931, p. 35.
11. K. E. Neumann, *Der Wahrheitpfad*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 27.

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to) take the Buddha's word for it, because I know ». The listeners took this to mean: « I do not take the Buddha's word for it, i.e. I do not have faith in the Buddha ».

1.6. What is quite clear is that there is here no hint that faith is not necessary; in fact the whole discussion is about the necessity of faith. The dispute is only whether Sāriputta has faith in the necessity of faith, or whether he has knowledge.

1.7. This view is reinforced by the cty on the other reference which PED gives for the meaning « credulous ». Sn 853 reads: *na saddho na virajjati*, and Nidd I explains: *sāmaṃ sayaṃ abhiññātaṃ attapaccakkhaṃ dhammaṃ, na kassaci saddahati aññassa samaṇassa vā brāhmaṇassa vā devassa vā Mārassa vā narassa vā brahmuno vā* (235, 9 - 237, 4): « When one has learnt the *dhamma* for oneself, one does not have to take it on trust from anyone else ». Nidd I then proceeds to quote the *Pubbakoṭṭhaka-sutta* verbatim, and concludes by quoting Dhp 97.

1.8. Dhp 97 is also quoted in the cty on the word *para-ppattiya* « dependent upon others » in Jātaka No. 322 (*Daddabha-jātaka*). It is said of those who are not *para-ppattiya: maggañāṇena paṭividdha-dhammā aññesaṃ kathentānaṃ pi na saddahanti na gaṇhanti. kasmā? attano paccakkhato ti, tena vuttaṃ « assaddho... uttamaporiso » ti* (Ja III 78, 1' - 18'): « Those who have gained the *dhamma* by knowledge of the path do not have faith in the words of others. Why? Because they have realised it by personal experience ».

2. *The paradox*

2.1. As stated above (§ 1.1), Ergardt concludes that his suggested translation of *assaddha* may seem paradoxical. In my review of his monograph [12], I have pointed out that *assaddha* and the other adjectives in Dhp 97 are each used in two senses. In his translation of Dhp, Radhakrishnan notes of this verse that « there seems here to be a play on different meanings (*śleṣa*) » [13], but he gives no hint of what he thinks the word-play is. In his interpretation of some of the adjectives in the BHS equivalent (*Udānavarga* 29.23) [14], Edgerton points out [15] that *saṃdhicchettar* is primarily, doubtless, the equivalent of *saṃdhi-cchedaka* « housebreaker, burglar », but used paradoxically in a good sense, like

12. To appear in OLZ.
13. RADHAKRISHNAN, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
14. *aśraddhaś cākṛtajñaś ca*
saṃdhicchettā ca yo naraḥ
hatāvakāśo vāntāśaḥ,
sa vai tūttamapūruṣaḥ.
15. BHS Dictionary, s.v. *saṃdhicchettar.*

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aśraddha and *akṛtajña*. BHS *akṛtajña*, like Pāli *akataññu*, is well known as having two senses, one good and one bad [16]. For *aśraddha* in a good sense, Edgerton relies upon the meaning « credulous » given for Pāli *saddha* in PED [17]. Brough too notes the paradox in Dhp 97, but does not elaborate upon what he thinks it comprises [18].

2.2. None of these scholars, then, states specifically that each of the five adjectives in Dhp 97 can be taken in both a bad sense and a good one. It seems likely that the verse was originally intended as a riddle or puzzle, whereby the audience was expected to take each of the five adjectives in a bad sense, on first hearing [19], helped no doubt by the fact that the first of them, *assaddha*, is almost always used in a pejorative sense. The listeners would therefore expect the last *pāda* of the verse to be *sa ve adhama-poriso*, and only when the speaker, paradoxically, said « *uttama-poriso* » would they realise that each word had been used in a punning way, and they would have to go back to the beginning of the verse and take an alternative meaning for each word.

3. *The bad meanings*

3.1. *assaddha*: the most likely translation is the usual one of « without faith », as in the common phrase *assaddho samaṇo* [20]. It is, however, possible that it has the meaning « ohne Spendefreudigheit », which it has in contexts with *maccharin*, as Köhler has pointed out [21].

3.2. *akataññu*: this means «not knowing what has been done (for him)», i.e. « ungrateful ».

3.3. *sandhiccheda*: this means « housebreaker, burglar », as Edgerton surmised [22].

3.4. *hatāvakāsa*: this means « one who has destroyed, lost, missed, his opportunity ».

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16. *ibid.*, s.v. *akṛtajña*.
17. *ibid.*, s.v. *aśraddha*.
18. John Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London, 1962, p. 182.
19. It is, of course, possible that originally there were two verses, identical except for the final word. The first, intended to give the bad meanings, ended with *adhama-poriso*, while the second, giving the good meanings, ended with *uttama-poriso*. Of these two only the second remains.
20. See *Pāli Tipiṭakaṃ Concordance*, s.v. *assaddha*.
21. Hans-Werbin Köhler, *Śrad-dhā- in der vedischen und altbuddhistischen Literatur*, Wiesbaden, 1973, p. 60.
22. BHS Dictionary, s.v. *saṃdhicchettar*.

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3.5. *vantāsa*: Alsdorf quoted AMg *vantāsī* and Pāli *vantādo* in the sense of « eating, i.e. taking, what has been abandoned by someone else », and drew attention to the fact that in *Isibhāsiyāiṃ* 45.40 foll. the eating or drinking of one's own vomit is a metaphor for the defection from monkish discipline and relapse into worldly life [23]. We may translate as « eater of vomit » without defining whether it is one's own or another's which is being eaten.

4. *The good meanings*

4.1. *assaddha*: it is clear that Dhp-a (§ 1.2), Nidd I (§ 1.7), and Ja (§ 1.8) are taking *assaddha* in the sense of « not having (or needing to have) faith in others (because one already knows for oneself) », i.e. « not taking on trust ». It is possible that this is the correct way of taking the word [24], but there is, I think, an alternative and better interpretation. The second reference given for *assaddha* in PED is Sn 853. This occurs in the *Purābheda-sutta* (Sn 848-61), where the Buddha is asked about the (nature of) the best man (*pucchito uttamaṃ naraṃ*, 848). The Buddha replies that (the best man) *na saddho na virajjati* (853). It is clear that *na saddho* is good, and therefore *saddho* is bad, hence its translation « credulous ». This pāda has, however, a parallel at Sn 813: *na rajjati na virajjati* « he is neither em-passioned nor dis-passioned », i.e. an *arhat* has neither passion nor lack of passion, being simply indifferent. We can see that if *na rajjati* and *na saddho* are parallel, then *saddha* must be based upon the meaning « desire » which is attested for Sanskrit *śraddhā* from the late Vedic period and also for Prakrit *saddhā* [25], but has not hitherto been recognised in Pāli [26]. We can therefore translate *assaddho* as « without desire ».

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23. L. Alsdorf, *Vāntam āpātum*, in IL, 16, 1955, pp. 21-8, and especially p. 28. Surprisingly, although he quoted *vantāsa* from Dhp 97 as an example of the use of *vanta* in the sense of « abandoned » (p. 26, n. 7), he dealt with it only as a *bahuvrīhi* compound « giving up desire », and did not note that it could also be taken as a *tatpuruṣa* compound « eating what has been abandoned ». An extended form of this compound is doubtless to be seen in *vantāsika* « name of a class of Petas » (Mil 294, 16). Cf. *kheḷāsaka* (*-ika*) « eating spittle » (Vin II 188, 37; Dhp-a I 140, 1).

24. I am not entirely convinced that it could have this sense as a good meaning. The Buddha seems to make it clear that *saddhā* was not a bad thing for those persons who did not have *paññā*.

25. Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 3 and p. 3, n. 11. See also the review of Köhler's book by Minoru Hara (IIJ 19, 1977, pp. 105-8), who gives further examples from Classical Sanskrit.

26. It is not impossible that another example in Pāli has been overlooked. The most common usage in Sanskrit is the instrumental singular *śraddhayā* « gladly ». The equivalent of this may be in the common Pāli phrase *kulaputtā saddhāya agārasmā anagāriyaṃ gacchanti*, « They gladly leave home ».

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4.2. *akataññu*: the cty explains: *akataṃ nibbānaṃ jānātī ti akataññū sacchikatanibbāno ti attho*, i.e. it has the usual alternative meaning in Pāli « knowing the uncreated », i.e. « knowing *nibbāna* »[27].

4.3. *sandhiccheda*: the cty explains: *vaṭṭasandhiṃ saṃsārasandhiṃ chetvā ṭhito ti sandhicchedo*, «cutting the connection with the *saṃsāra*». PED is doubtless correct in seeing *sandhi* here with the meaning of *paṭisandhi* « re-connection »[28]. We can therefore translate as « cutting off, destroying rebirth ».

4.4. *hatāvakāsa*: the cty explains: *kusalākusalakammabījassa khīṇattā nibbattanāvakāso hato assā ti hatāvakāso*. Where the word occurs as an epithet of a Tathāgata at Bv-a 1, 16, Miss Horner translates it as «free from the accumulation of *kamma*»[29]. I presume that *avakāsa* here means « opportunity for (bad) actions », and I see a connection with the usage which we find in *an-avakāsa-kārin* (Mil 383, 22), which CPD translates as « not occasioning (a quarrel) »[30] and Miss Horner as « does not give an occasion (to a preceptor) »[31]. I therefore take its meaning in Dhp 97 to be: « one who has got rid of occasions (for quarrels, etc.) » or « rid of opportunities (for rebirth) ».

4.5. *vantāsa*: the cty explains: *catūhu maggehi kattabbakiccassa katattā sabbā āsā iminā vantā ti vantāso*. PED suggests « one who has given up all wishes »[32]. We can translate « one who has abandoned desire ».

5. *Conclusions*

5.1. Since there is nothing specifically Buddhist about Dhp 97, it is possible that its composition pre-dates the foundation of Buddhism. It is therefore possible that the set of bad meanings had already been lost when it was included in the Buddhist collections.

5.2. There is, however, one small piece of negative evidence which hints that at the time of the compilation of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* the verse was still felt to have two sets of meanings. I deduce this from the fact that the verse is not included in the *Pubbakoṭṭhaka-sutta* (§ 1.3), although it is included in the quotation of that *sutta* in Nidd I (§ 1.7). The quotation of the verse with its statement that a man who was *assaddha* was nevertheless *uttama-porisa* would have been so appropriate to the case of Sāriputta that it is strange that it was not quoted. We

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27. PED, s.v. *kataññu*.
28. *ibid.*, s.v. *sandhi*.
29. I. B. Horner, *The clarifier of the sweet meaning*, London, 1978, p. 1.
30. CPD, s.v. *an-avakāsa-kāri(n)*.
31. I. B. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, Vol. II, London, 1964, p. 256.
32. PED, s.v. *vanta*.

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may assume that either it was not known at all to the compiler(s) of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, or (more likely) it was known to him/them as being ambiguous and therefore dangerous to quote as an illustration.

5.3. It seems clear that by the time Nidd I was compiled the cty tradition had completely lost any idea that in Dhp 97 the use of the word *assaddha* was paradoxical. There is no trace in Dhp-a of any knowledge that even one of the five adjectives could have both a bad and a good connotation, and all five are explained as having only a good sense.

5.4. I think Ergardt was correct in rejecting the meaning « credulous » for *assaddha* in Dhp 97, but I am unable to accept his suggestion that it means « without faith » when applied to the *uttama-porisa*.

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YUTAKA OJIHARA

QU'ON NE CONFONDE PAS UN *VĀRTTIKA* AVEC UN *SŪTRA* !

Les *sū*[*tra*] 6.3.34-45, auxquels correspond en gros l'*Āhnika* 6.3.2 du *Mahābhāṣya*, portent sur la « masculinisation » (*puṃvadbhāva*) d'un mot féminin sis notamment comme membre antérieur de composition nominale. Les grandes lignes en sont tracées par 6.3.34: « *striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskād anūṅ samānādhikaraṇe striyām apūraṇīpriyādiṣu* » — (tr. L. Renou:) « (Au, membre antérieur) est traitée comme un masculin toute forme féminine capable d'exprimer le masculin (c'est-à-dire ayant un équivalent masculin de même forme et de même sens), — excepté si elle se termine par le suffixe (féminin) *ū* —; ceci quand le membre ultérieur est lui-même un féminin en rapport de coordination (avec le membre antérieur), mais qu'il n'est ni un ordinal, ni un mot du groupe *priya* ».

Le *sū.* est compliqué, dès à première vue, quant à la formulation pāṇinéenne elle-même, assez compliqué pour ne pas aller sans provoquer une longue suite, compliquée davantage, d'arguments polémiques du *Bh*[*āṣya*] [1]. Quoi qu'il en soit, à la suite des deux discussions liminaires qui se déroulent sur les énoncés « *bhāṣita-puṃs-ka-* » et « *an-ūṅ* » respectivement [2], Patañjali met en cause la mention initiale « *striyāḥ* »:

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1. De ce *sū.* 6.3.34 avec le *Bh.*, je prévois une étude d'ensemble pour un des numéros prochains des AsSt. En attendant, le présent article n'a pour but que de compléter en partie mon propre article récent, *Sur une formule patañjalienne: « na cedānīm ācāryāḥ sūtrāṇi kṛtvā nivartayanti »*, in IT, VI, 1978, pp. 219-34: cf. notamment n. 12 là-dedans.

2. Composé *bahuvrīhi* 2.2.27, *bhāṣitapuṃska-* est dit primairement de cet « aspect universel » (*samānā- ākṛti-*, constituant la « cause de production » de tel ou tel mot: *śabdapravṛttinimitta*) « pour désigner quoi on recourt au masculin ». En développant ce *siddhānta* patañjalien, les commentateurs subséquents s'accordent pour reconnaître au présent énoncé un dérivé secondaire avec « *ac* » 5.2.127, pratiquement donc de même forme: « *bhāṣitapuṃska-* », « (toute forme de langage) qui implique un aspect universel tel que susdit ». — A ce propos, les discussions patañjaliennes (reprises d'ailleurs sous 7.1.74) ne diffèrent guère en essence de celles engagées sur

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— Faut-il entendre, par « *strī-* », ou bien (i) un « suffixe féminin » (*strī-pratyaya*), ou bien (ii) un « mot féminin » (*strī-śabda*), ou encore (iii) la « fénimité en tant que notion » (*stry-artha*) [3]? Le grand débat ainsi entamé remonte, d'ailleurs, à Kātyāyana dont les *v*[*ār*]*t*[*tika*] — quatre sur la thèse (i), deux sur la (ii) et un seul sur la (iii) — s'avèrent donner libre cours à des approfondissements patañjaliens.

Ainsi, pour la thèse (i): —

> (*vt.* 1) « *puṃvadbhāve strīgrahaṇaṃ strīpratyayagrahaṇaṃ cet tatra puṃvad ity uttarapade tatpratiṣedhavijñānam* » — « Si, en fait de masculinisation, la mention (initiale) " *strī-* " note un suffixe féminin, qu'on entende alors, par (cette assimilation au masculin qu'enseigne l'énoncé) " *puṃ-vat* ", que ledit (suffixe féminin) est prohibé devant un membre ultérieur (en apposition) ».

Une telle entente peut se dégager, d'après le *Bh.*, d'une manière comme la suivante: — Alors qu'en Grammaire ainsi qu'ailleurs, un énoncé muni du suffive *-vat* (5.1.115-117: « *vati* ») enseigne le « transfert » (*atideśa*), il est impossible ici de remarquer une opération quelconque qui, en tant qu'enjointe expressément pour les noms masculins (*puṃs-*), soit transférable sur le mot féminin tiré d'une base masculine sous-jacente (*bhāṣitapuṃska-*) et qui figure, en l'occurrence, (comme membre antérieur de composé) devant le membre ultérieur en apposition [4]. Il s'avère dès lors que, ce qui est ici à transférer, ce n'est rien d'autre que ce fait flagrant relatif aux noms masculins, à savoir l'absence de tout suffixe féminin là-dedans [5]. Or, le « transfert du non-être » n'a rien d'étonnant, les invariants en *-vat* étant caractérisés par une souplesse syntaxique extrême (*kāmacāra-*): ainsi, « *mātṛvad asyāḥ kalāḥ* », phrase qu'on peut suppléer soit par « *santi* » soit par « *na santi* », ceci selon que

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la mention « *astrīviṣaya-* » du *sū.* 4.1.63. Cf. mon article antérieur, *Sur l'énoncé astrī-viṣaya (4.1.63): deux interprétations et leur rapport avec le Gaṇapāṭha*, in ALB, 31-2, 1968, pp. 125-43.

Composé *tatpuruṣa* 2.2.6 (type *karmadhāraya*, 1.2.42), *an-ūṅ-* est à comprendre en termes de *paryudāsa*: « qui n'est pas (terminé par) le suffixe féminin *-ū-* (4.1.66 sqq.) ». Cette observation ultime du *Bh.* conduira les pāṇinéens ultérieurs à croire unanimement en cette double extravagance: « *bhāṣitapuṃskād-anūṅ* », *bahuvrīhi* irrégulier et mis au Gén. sans désinence!

3. Triple investigation requise, comme Patañjali y insiste sous 1.2.66 et 4.1.120, toutes les fois qu'on rencontre un énoncé « *strī-* ». C'est la thèse (ii) qu'adopteront les pāṇinéens ultérieurs, tout en prenant le présent « *striyāḥ* » au Gén. appositionnel avec « *bhāṣitapuṃskād-anūṅ* » (cf. n. préc., in fine). — La thèse (i), dont je vais exposer librement des phases initiales, sous-entend un expédient particulier, celui de marquer l'énoncé en question « *striyāḥ* » par le ton *svarita*, ceci afin de renvoyer à la section 4.1.3-81 où les suffixes féminins sont enseignés sous la reconduction du *sū.* 4.1.3 « *striyām* ».

4. *Bh.*: *na kiṃcit puṃsaḥ pratipadaṃ kāryam ucyate yat samānādhikaraṇa uttarapade bhāṣitapuṃskasyātidiśyeta.*

5. *Bh.*: *tatra kim anyac chakyaṃ vijñātum anyad ataḥ strīpratyayapratiṣedhāt.*

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la présence ou l'absence de métiers artistiques est de notoriété de la part de la mère[6]. De la sorte, suppléé à juste titre par « *na bhavati* », l'énoncé « *striyāḥ puṃvat* » voudra dire: De même qu'un suffixe féminin fait (naturellement) défaut à un mot masculin, de même, il fait défaut à un *bhāṣitapuṃska* si ce dernier figure devant le membre ultérieur de composé en apposition[7].

(*vt.* 2) « *prātipadikasya ca pratyāpattiḥ* » — « (Il faut entendre,) en outre, que la base nominale (sous-jacente) se restitue (dès lors sous sa forme propre au masculin) ».

A en croire le *Bh.*, ce *vt.* vise par exemple le composé *bahuvrīhi* correspondant à l'expression analytique « *enī bhāryā yasya* », « celui dont l'épouse est (d'une carnation) bigarrée », *énī-* étant dérivé féminin du nom de couleur *éta-* « bigarré », avec à la fois, selon 4.1.39, le suffixe féminin « *ṅīp* » (*-ī-* atone) et le passage de *t* à *n*[8]. Au premier stade de la composition (*bahuvrīhi* 2.2.24), on assistera certes, conformément au *vt.* 1, à la prohibition, c'est-à-dire à la cessation, voire à l'amuissement, du suffixe féminin *-ī-* quant au membre antérieur (*enī* = *en°-ī-* 6.4.148 < *ena-ī-* 4.1.39): *enī-bhāryā-* > *ena°-bhāryā*[9]. Or, le suffixe *-ī-* ayant été ainsi amui, il n'en resterait pas moins que la féminité en tant que notion subsistât de manière à mettre en œuvre l'énoncé-gouvernant 4.1.3 « *striyām* », « quand il s'agit du sens féminin », en sorte que le *sū.* 4.1.39 qui y est soumis risquerait de prendre effet encore, de manière, du moins, à réaliser *n* à la place de *t* dans ledit membre antérieur: bref, on aboutirait à une fausse forme come **ena-bhārya-*[10]. C'est donc à fin de parer à un tel inconvénient qu'il y a lieu de poser le présent additif, *vt.* 2, en vertu duquel (en même temps que du *vt.* 1) *enī-bhāryā-* passera

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6. *Bh.*: *kāmacāraś ca vatinirdeśo vākyaśeṣaṃ samarthayitum. tad yathā ... mātṛvad asyāḥ kalāḥ. santi na santīti.*

7. *Bh.*: *evam ihāpi ... puṃvan na bhavatīty evaṃ vākyaśeṣaṃ samarthayiṣyāmahe. yathā puṃsaḥ strīpratyayo na bhavaty evaṃ samānādhikaraṇa uttarapade bhāṣitapuṃskasya na bhavatīti.*

8. 4.1.39: « *varṇād anudāttāt topadhāt* (*striyām* 3, *ṅīp* 26) *to naḥ* ».

9. *Bh.*: *puṃvadbhāvena kiṃ kriyate. strīpratyayasya nivṛttiḥ.* — La «prohibition» constituée par « *na bhavati* » (cf. ci-dessus n. 7, in fine) ne peut ici vouloir dire cette « absence préalable » (*prāg-abhāva*) du suffixe féminin qu'enjoint par exemple le *sū.* 4.1.56: « *na* (*striyām* 3, *ṅiṣ* 40) *kroḍādibahvacaḥ* (*svāṅgāt, upasarjanāt* 54) » (Haradatta), mais nécessairement la cessation du suffixe féminin déjà produit (*jātanivṛtti*) telle qu'elle s'achève par le *sū.* 1.2.49: « *luk* (*striyo... upasarjanasya* 48) *taddhitaluki* » (Nāgeśa). Car la suffixation par *-ī-* 4.1.39, où n'est nullement en jeu la composition nominale, doit prévaloir (en tant qu'opération *antaraṅga*) sur sa prohibition (qui est *bahiraṅga* puisqu'elle est) enjointe en présence d'un membre ultérieur de composé, *bhāryā-* en l'occurrence.

10. *Bh.*: *artho 'nivṛttaḥ strītvaṃ tasyānivṛttatvāt kena naśabdo na śrūyeta. striyām ity ucyamānaḥ prāpnoti.*

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bel et bien à *eta-bhāryā-* (> *eta-bhārya-* 1.2.48) avec la base nominale *eta-* restituée sous sa forme propre.

(*vt.* 3) « *sthānivatprasaṅgaś ca* » — « (Il faut éviter,) en effet, que le traitement conforme à l'original (ne) s'applique à tort (selon 1.1.57) ».

Considérons le composé *bahuvrīhi* correspondant à l'expression analytique « *paṭvī bhāryā yasya* », « celui dont l'épouse est adroite ». Le premier mot féminin est dérivé de *paṭu-* « adroit », avec le suffixe féminin « *ṅīṣ* » (*-ī-* tonique) selon 4.1.44: *paṭu-ī-* > *paṭv-ī-* 6.1.77. Or, au stade initial de la composition, à savoir *paṭvī-bhāryā-*, l'amuissement d'*-ī-* en vertu du *vt.* 1 vaudra-t-il pour annuler le passage d'*u* à *v* selon 6.1.77, passage qui s'est effectué à cause de la voyelle *ī* réellement présente? Non! Car la cessation du suffixe féminin, c'est-à-dire le zéro substitué en l'occurrence à la « voyelle » *ī*, a pour cause « ce qui suit » celle-ci, à savoir le membre ultérieur de composé *bhāryā-*, tandis que l'opération 6.1.77 va affecter éventuellement l'élément *u* « antérieur » à ladite voyelle *ī*: c'est dire que, la triple condition « *acaḥ* » - « *parasmin* » - « *pūrvavidhi-* » étant bel et bien satisfaite, le *paribhāṣā-sū.* 1.1.57 ne manquerait pas d'y intervenir, en sorte que l'amuissement dû au *vt.* 1 devrait être traité comme son original *ī* quand il s'agit d'appliquer le *sū.* 6.1.77, lequel ne laisserait donc pas de réaliser *v* à la place d'*u*[11]. Bref, à partir de *paṭvī-bhāryā-*, on manquerait à achever *paṭu-bhārya-* comme il faut, le membre antérieur ne pouvant être rien d'autre que **paṭvº-*!

Voilà, il est vrai, un inconvénient à requérir (*codya-*) mais, dans le fait, la solution en est fournie par avance en tant que le *vt.* 2 stipule la « restitution de la base nominale (sous sa forme propre) ». En effet, dans *paṭvī-bhāryā-* tout comme dans *enī-bhāryā-*, l'amuissement (dû au *vt.* 1) du suffixe féminin *-ī-* doit avoir pour corollaire qu'on restitue, conformément au *vt.* 2, ici *paṭu-* comme là *eta-* quant au membre antérieur. Autant dire que, outre le cas d'*etabhārya-*, celui de *paṭubhārya-* (sous-jacent au *vt.* 3) a déjà reçu lui aussi une due requête (*codita-*) par la seule position du *vt.* 2. — Entraîné par une telle constatation, qui est judicieuse en soi, un participant au débat patañjalien va jusqu'à insister sur la suppression du *vt.* 3 parce que, comme il en est convaincu à tort ou à raison, la portée de ce dernier n'est rien de plus qu'une partie de celle du *vt.* 2[12].

Pareil parti pris vaudra-t-il la peine qu'on en tient compte? Peut-être oui, à supposer qu'il s'agisse ici de deux règles pāṇinéennes, deux de ces *sūtra* dont la formulation est censément dictée par la plus grande « économie » (*lāghava*) possible. Mais, ne l'oublions pas, nous voici en

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11. 1.1.57: « *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau* (*sthānivad ādeśaḥ* 56) »; 6.1.77 « *iko yaṇ aci* ». — *Bh.*: *strīpratyayasya nivṛttiḥ. tasya sthānivadbhāvād yaṇādeśaḥ prāpnoti.*

12. *Bh.*: *kimartham idam ubhayam ucyate. na prātipadikasya pratyāpattir ity eva sthānivadbhāvo 'pi coditaḥ syāt.*

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face de deux *vārttika* de Kātyāyana, deux observations destinées comme par définition à l'interprétation d'un *sū.* de Pāṇini, 6.3.34 en l'occurrence: il est naturel, va-t-il de soi, qu'on maintienne tels quels l'un et l'autre *vt.* à titre même de clarté [13]. C'était donc un accès d'étourderie, en quelque sorte, qui a poussé ledit polémiste à confondre *vārttika* avec *sūtra*! — A cet interlocuteur, Patañjali répond en admettant d'abord que Kātyāyana s'aperçut de la substance du *vt.* 3 plus tôt que de celle du *vt.* 2 [14], mais, tout de suite, il finit par railler une étourderie aussi flagrante en prononçant « *na cedānīm ācāryāḥ sūtrāṇi kṛtvā nivartayanti* », une phrase énigmatique que l'auteur de ces lignes croit avoir réussi à élucider par un de ses articles antérieurs [15].

13. *Pradīpa*: *sūtravyākhyānārthatvād vākyānāṃ vispaṣṭārtham ubhayor upādānam...*

14. *Bh.*: *purastād idam ācāryeṇa dṛṣṭaṃ sthānivatprasaṅgaś ceti tat paṭhitam. tata uttarakālam idaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ prātipadikasya ca pratyāpattir iti tad api paṭhitam.*

15. Voir l'article signalé ci-dessus n. 1, article que j'ai entrepris de compléter déjà par trois autres: — *Causerie Vyākaraṇique (V): *pūrvatra siddham* contrairement à 8.2.1*, in « Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies », 28-1, Tokyo, 1979, pp. (1)-(6); — *Sur le nivartana, dit des cheveux: « tailler » ou « séparer »?*, ibid., 27-1, 1978, pp. (1)-(7); — *Sur le nivartana, dit des cheveux: Addenda*, in *Dr. Gaurinath Shastri Felicitation Volume*, Kurukshetra (à paraître).

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V. C. PANDEY

SOME CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCES FROM THE *ARTHAŚĀSTRA* OF KAUṬILYA

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya can profitably be used to elucidate a variety of terms and sentences occurring in later sources of ancient Indian history which have so far been defying adequate comprehension. We shall be studying a few of them in the present paper.

The Aśokan Pillar Edict VII contains the following exhortation:

Avihisāye bhūtānam
anālambhāye pānanam

Of the two words, *avihiṁsā* and *anārambha*, the latter admits of different interpretations. In the monastic terminology of the Buddhists, it means « suitability of a land for the construction of a *vihāra* or a *Kuṭī* »[1]. But since Aśoka is speaking of all living beings and not only of the monks, this meaning is completely ruled out.

Somethimes « *anārambha* » is taken to mean « lack of effort » which has been condemned by the *Mahābhārata*[2]. So, this meaning too is not applicable to the line in the Aśokan inscription.

D. R. Bhandarkar has translated the above quoted extract from R. E. VII as follows:

« non-injury to (all) creatures and non-slaughter of (all) life ».

But this translation should appear to be extremely incongruous for the simple reason that « non-injury » covers « non-slaughter » as well.

The real meaning of the word « *anārambha* » is brought out by the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. While describing the virtues of a *parivrājaka*, it mentions *Ahiṁsā* and *Anārambha* in one and the same breath. This identical description in the two near-contemporary sources may not be

1. Upasak, *Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms*, Varanasi, 1975, p. 12.
2. *Mbh.* 2.14.7:
Anārambhaparo rājā
Valmīki iva sīdati

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incidental. It may even suggest the Aśokan scribe's borrowing from the Kauṭilyan terminology.

In the context of a *parivrājaka*, the meaning of the word *anārambha* as « non-slaughter » does not make sense, for the *parivrājakas*, by no stress of imagination, can ever be associated with any kind of slaughter of animals so as to be told to refrain from it. From the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya it would appear that the word « *anārambha* » meant « self-less conduct »[3].

Aśoka's scribe also had the same meaning in mind when he exhorted the people to ensure «non-injury» to (all) creatures and « self-less conduct » towards (all) living beings.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya contains copious allusions to the manufacture and sale of a variety of wines suggesting thereby that drinking was prevalent in the society and that it constituted an attractive source of entertainment in *utsavas*, *samājas* and *yātrās*[4]. Lest unrestricted drinking on such occasions should result in unseemly behaviour of the people and pose serious security problems for the king when he participated in them[5], Kauṭilya had striven to contain it and prescribed punishment in the form of fines for unauthorised drinking. Aśoka informs us in his R.E.I. that no *samāja* should be held, for he sees much evil in it. Among these evils associated with the *samājas*, drinking must have been the one over which Aśoka was greatly exercised and which he steadily wanted to prohibit. *Inter alia*, it was his pro-prohibition attitude that led him to take the extreme step of banning altogether the *samājas* which Kauṭilya had only sought to regulate. That excessive drinking on festive occasions very often led to tragedies, including murders, is illustrated, among other literary works, by the *Upamitibhavaprapañcha-kathā* (p. 392).

While dealing with the king's judicial functions, the Greek writers make the following observation:

« He (Chandragupta Maurya) remains there all day thus occupied, not suffering himself to be interrupted, even though the time arrives for attending to his person. This attention to his person consists of friction with pieces of wood, and he continues to listen to the cause, *while the friction is performed by four attendants who surround him* »[6].

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3. Kauṭ. 1.3.12-13:
Parivrājakasya...
anārambho...
sarveshāmahiṁsā
4. *Ibid.* 2.25.36:
Utsavasamājayātrāsu
Chaturahaḥ sauriko deyaḥ
5. This explains why Kauṭilya (1.21.46) advised the king not to join in these festivities all alone:
Yātrāsamājotsavapravahaṇāni daśavargikā-
dhishṭhitāni gachchhet
6. H. and F., Strabo III, pp. 106-7.

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That these attendants were inavariably females working as « *snāpaka* » and « *samvāhaka* » is borne out by the *Arthaśāstra* [7].

The mention of the cow is conspicuous by its absence in the list of the creatures whose slaughter was banned by Aśoka vide his Pillar Edict V. It is so because the cow was exempted from slaughter by the vast majority of the people since ancient times. Kauṭilya has made it abundantly clear that calves, bulls and cows were not to be killed [8]. In this connection D.C. Sircar's observation « that beef was taken by the Indians in the 3rd Century B.C. » [9] is belied by the internal evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, Megasthenes', account and the Aśokan inscriptions. When Aśoka includes *shaṇḍaka* (bull set free) in the list of creatures whose slaughter was prohibited, he simply takes care to emphasise the fact that like the *vatsas*, the *vṛshas* and the *dhenus*, the *shaṇḍakas* too are not to be killed.

Ancient Indian warfare was heavily elephant-oriented. Kauṭilya has gone to the extent of saying that the king's victory dependend upon his elephants more than anything else [10]. And the finest elephants of his time were available in Kaliṅga [11]. Kaliṅga was also known for its cotton fabrics [12]. As would appear from the account of Pliny [13], Kaliṅga, being « nearest the sea » had a flourishing trade with the outside world. Thus, it would appear that Aśoka was impelled to conquer Kaliṅga by his desire to obtain the priced elephants, the fine cotton fabrics and the busy sea-ports of it.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya contains numerous references to *āṭavikas*. A kingdom is very often threatened by the hostile kingdoms as also by the foresters [14]. It refers to the *aṭavī-pāla*, *antapāla*, and chiefs of *pura* and *rāṣhṭra* whose cooperation was absolutely necessary for the

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7. Kauṭ. 1.21.28:
   Snāpakasaṁvāhakā-
   starakarajakamālākārakarma-
   dāsyaḥ kuryuḥ
8. Kauṭ. 2.26.13:
   Vatso vṛsho
   dhenus'chaishāmavadhyāḥ
9. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 60, fn. no. 1.
10. Kauṭ. 2.3.16:
    Hastipradhāno hi vijayo rājñām
11. *Ibid.* 2.3.16:
    Kaliṅgāṅgagajāḥ śreshṭhāḥ
12. *Ibid.* 2.12.120:
    Kāliṅgakam
    Kārpāsikam śreshṭhamiti
13. *Indian Antiquary*, 1877, p. 338.
14. Kauṭ. 2.1.44:
    Parachakrāṭavīgrastam
    Vyādhidurbhikshapīḍitam
    Deśam pariharet rājā
    Vyayakrīḍāścha vārayet

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free flow of commercial goods [15]. Another passage in the same work alludes to the lifting of cattle by the hostiles and the foresters [16]. Very often the foresters have been spoken of along with the enemies [17]. Sometimes they have been coupled with the *sāmantas*. Care was taken by the state to see that the disgruntled elements of society did not join hands with the *sāmantas* and the *āṭavikas* [18].

All these references, combined together, go to shed welcome light on the nature of the *āṭavika-rājyas*. Generally speaking, an ancient Indian kingdom had four territorial divisions in it:

(1) *Pura* (Urban areas).
(2) *Rāshṭra* (Rural areas).
(3) *Sīmanta* (Border lands).
(4) *Aṭavī* (Forested areas).

Though the forested areas were very often technically included in the kingdom and were taken care of by a high functionary of the state called the *Aṭavīpāla*, they were semi-independent territories mainly because of their difficult accessibility. Lying beyond the sphere of effective control of the central government, they had their own armies and could be of much service or disservice to their nominal over-lords. If hostile, they could easily create problems for them by operating as cattle-lifters, way-layers and bandits. They could even enter into conspiracies with the neighbouring kings and feudatories against their central government. R.E. XIII has it that these turbulent forest-dwellers created similar problems for Aśoka who was forced to administer a stern warning to them to the effect that, though he was compassionate, he was strong as well and that if they did not mend their ways, they would be killed [19].

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15. *Ibid.* 2.16.25:
Aṭavyantapālapurarāshṭra-mukhyaiścha
pratisaṁsargam gachchhedanu-
grahāratham
16. *Ibid.* 2.29.7:
Parachakrāṭavībhayadanu-
pravishṭānām paśūnām
pālanadharmeṇa
daśabhāgam dadyuḥ
17. *Ibid.* 1.13.40:
Amitramāṭavikam.
18. *Ibid.* 1.13.16:
Parasparādvā
bhedayedenān Sāmantāta-
vikatatkulīnāvaruddhe-
bhyaścha
19. R.E. XIII:
Yo pi cha apakareyati kshamita viya
mate va devanam priyasa yam śako kshamanaye
ya pi cha aṭavi devanampriyasa vijite
bhoti ta pi anuneti apunijapeti anutape
pi cha prabhave...

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The *Harshacharita* informs us that Pushyamitra, the commander of the Mauryan army, killed his master Bṛhadratha, while he was inspecting his army [20]. It is anybody's guess as to what time Pushyamitra had chosen to effect his *coup de tat*. But a conjecture can he hazarded on the basis of the king's schedule of work prescribed by Kauṭilya. According to it, the king's day and night were divided into 8 parts each, each part, thus being of one and a half hours' duration. Under this scheme, the seventh part of the day was allotted to the king for the inspection of his army [21], while the eighth part was meant for discussions with his Commander-in-Chief [22]. Assuming that the king's day started with sun-rise approximately at 6 a.m., the seventh and the eigth parts of the day would fall between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. It was during these three hours in the afternoon that the Commander-in-Chief had an access to the king. Pushyamitra seems to have assissinated his master some time during this period, while the latter was inspecting his army in the company of his Commander-in-Chief.

Public opinion was regarded as an important factor in ancient Indian polity. Kauṭilya has used the word *mata* for opinion and has differentiated it from *kiṁvadantī* (rumour), *chāra* (news) and *apavāda* (slander). Like other political thinkers, he too was of the view that public discontent (*prakṛti-kopa*, *janapada-kopa*, *amarsha* or *aparāga*) could be a major cause of the undoing of the ruler. The popular discontent finds expression in a variety of ways including (1) *dharna* [23] (2) hunger strike [24] (*anaśana* or *prāyopaveśana*) (3) migration [25] and (4) regicide [26].

But Kauṭilya, being a staunch advocate of the principle of legitimacy, has purposely refrained from describing these popular expressions

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20. *Prajñādurbalam cha bala-darśana-*
vyapadeśadarśitāśeshasainyaḥ senānīranāryo
Mauryo Bṛhadratham pipesha Pushyamitraḥ
svāminam.
21. Kauṭ. 1.19.18:
Saptame hastyaśvarathā-
yudhīyān paśyet
22. *Ibid.* 1.19.19:
Ashṭame Senāpatisakho
Vikramam chintayet
23. *Mbh.* 1.1.120:
Rathasyaikāmagratastishṭhamānām
24. *Ibid.* 1.2.183:
Kṛtānaśanasaṅkalpā yatra
bhartṛīnupāviśat

Also, the Brāhmaṇas of Kashmir had undertaken hunger strike to remove Tuṅga from Prime Ministership around 980 A.D.

25. *Mbh.* 1.75.4:
Sthātum tvadvishaye rājan
na śakshyāmi tvayā saha
26. *Ibid.* 1.130.7:
Katham Yudhishṭhirasyārthe
na no hanyuḥ sabāndhavān

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of discontent. Allusions to *dharnas*, hunger strikes or other forms of civil disobedience are conspicuous by their absence in his *Arthaśāstra*. While denying to the people the right to resist the ruler, Kauṭilya only refers to the harm that his unpopularity may bring to him. He makes the king conscious of the fact that excessive taxes and punishments are counter-productive[27]. An angered, greedy, frightened and slighted people are prone to cross over to the enemy's side[28]. If a king, he observes, is inaccessible to the people, he is sure to give birth to popular discontent and may even fall a prey to his enemies[29]. At the best, he cites the examples of such kings as had come to grief in the past for their indiscretion[30]. But quite unlike the *Mahābhārata*, the *Manusmṛti* or later works, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya does not propound the thesis of popular resistance to or revolt against a legitimate authority.

27. Kauṭ. 1.13.4:
paurajānapadān
daṇḍakarābhyām pīḍayati
28. *Ibid.* 1.13.22:
Kruddhalubdhabhītā-
vamāninastu pareshām kṛtyāḥ
29. *Ibid.* 1.19.31-32:
Durdarśo hi rājā
... prakṛtikopamarivaśam vā
gachchhet
30. *Ibid.* 1.7.12-15.

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LUDO ROCHER

CARITRAṂ PUSTAKARAṆE

The fact that litigation in classical Hindu law « rests on four feet » (*catuṣpād*) is well known. The texts enumerating and defining the four elements have been discussed repeatedly in recent scholarly literature [1]. Most of these writings center on the fact that, among *dharma, vyavahāra, caritra*, and *rājaśāsana*, each latter one *bādhate* « checks, prevents, sets aside », the preceding one(s). This leads to various — conflicting — theories on the relative role of the four « feet », and, especially, to efforts at explaining the obvious, but unexpected, importance given custom and royal decrees.

This article does not intend to deal with the relations between *dharma, vyavahāra, caritra*, and *rājaśāsana*. It will concentrate on *caritra*, and, more specifically, on one term which has been used — once(!) — in connection with it: *pustakaraṇa*.

The term *caritra* has been defined by most texts in which the « four feet » of *vyavahāra* have been enumerated. One of the simplest definitions appears in a verse attributed to Vyāsa (Dharmakośa p. 235):

deśasthitiḥ pūrvakṛtā caritraṃ samudāhṛtam [2].

Elsewhere, in a stanza attributed to Bṛhaspati (9.6; Dhko 99), *deśasthiti* occurs again, but as one of two types of *caritra*, the other one being based on *anumāna*:

anumānena nirṇītaṃ caritram iti kathyate;
deśasthityā dvitīyaṃ tu śāstravidbhir udāhṛtam.

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1. Especially R. LINGAT, *Les quatre pieds du procès*, in JA 250 (1962), pp. 489-503. For bibliography, see J. D. M. DERRETT, *Custom and Law in Ancient India*, in « Religion, Law and the State in India », London, 1968, pp. 148-70.

2. A discussion of the variant readings, with which this and other smṛti texts appear in commentaries and nibandhas, is beyond the scope of this article. Also, I uniformly adopt the reading *caritra*, even though nibandhas eventually use *carita*.

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Jolly (2.23) translates:

> « When a sentence is passed according to the inference (to be drawn from circumstantial evidence), it is termed (a decision based on) custom. When it is passed according to local usages, it is termed another sort (of a decision based on custom) by the learned in the law ».

In another stanza on *caritra*, also attributed to Bṛhaspati (1.20; Dhko 100) the two terms *deśasthiti* and *anumāna* appear again, in a different combination:

> *deśasthityanumānena naigamānumatena ca*
> *kriyate nirṇayas...*

In Jolly's (2.26) translation:

> « When a decision is passed in accordance with local custom, logic, or the opinion of traders (living in that town)... ».

In the first Bṛhaspati stanza *anumāna* may indeed refer to « inference », namely the inference of guilt drawn from indications in the behavior of a certain individual. In the second Bṛhaspati quotation, however, as I have shown elsewhere [3], *anumāna* is not derived from the root *anu-mā-*, but rather from *anu-man-*; it does not mean « inference », but « acceptance of, agreement on certain forms of behavior within a group of individuals ».

One thing is, therefore, clear from the preceding text: *caritra* invariably involves action, behavior, more often than not group behavior sanctioned by long standing; in other words: custom. I shall now quote another few smṛti texts to underscore that meaning.

First, a Bṛhaspati verse (1.21; Dhko 100) which in most nibandhas follows immediately after the one just quoted:

> *vihāya caritācāraṃ yatra kuryāt punar nṛpaḥ*
> *nirṇayam...*

The commentators are unanimous: *caritācāraṃ pūrvapūrvācaritam ācāram* [4]. Jolly (2.27) translates accordingly: « Where a king, disregarding established usage, passes a sentence... ».

Second, there is the following stanza attributed to Kātyāyana (37; Dhko 103):

> *yad yad ācaryate yena dharmyaṃ vādharmyam eva vā*
> *deśasyācaraṇān nityaṃ caritraṃ tad dhi kīrtitam.*

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3. L. ROCHER, *Anumāna in the Bṛhaspatismṛti*, in « Annals of Oriental Research Silver Jubilee Volume », 1975, pp. 34-42.

4. E.g., *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*, p. 262; *Vīramitrodaya*, *Vyavahāprakāśa*, p. 89.

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Kane translates:

> « Whatever a person practices, whether it be according to dharma (the letter of the law) or not, because it is the invariable usage in a country, is declared to be *caritra* (usage) ».

Finally, a stanza of Pitāmaha (Dhko 105) exhibits a variant on Kātyāyana's:

> *yad yad ācarati śreṣṭho dharmyaṃ vādharmyam eva vā*
> *kulādideśācaraṇāc caritraṃ tat prakīrtitam.*

Two other stanzas (Dhko 105) add examples of cases in which *caritra* ought to be the deciding factor in litigation:

> *grāmagoṣṭhapuraśreṇisārthasenānivāsinām*
> *vyavahāraś caritreṇa nirṇetavyo bṛhaspatiḥ;*
> *deśapattanagoṣṭheṣu puragrāmeṣu vāsinām*
> *teṣām svasamayair dharmaśāstrato 'nyeṣu taiḥ saha.*

After all this we shall now turn to the definition of *caritra* as presented by Nārada (Mātṛkā 1.11c; Dhko 92):

> *caritraṃ [sthitaṃ] pustakaraṇe.*

This is Asahāya's commentary:

> *yac caritraṃ pustakaraṇa ity uktaṃ tac caritram iti*
> *pattrakabhūrjacīrakasaṃputikādiṣu sākṣisvahastasunibaddhaṃ*
> *kṛtvā yo vyavahāraḥ pravartate sa caritram ity ucyate.*

Jolly's translation follows Asahāya closely: « documentary evidence (rests) on declarations reduced to writing ». In other words, in this case:

> *caritra* = « documentary evidence ».

Asahāya's interpretation also seems to be supported by other commentators. For instance, Bhavasvāmin, commenting on the Nāradīyamanusaṃhitā (1.11), says: *lekhyena nirṇīyate tac caritram.* The Smṛticandrikā (III, p. 25) simply states: *pustakaraṇaṃ lekhyam.*

The reactions of modern scholars are most interesting. Lingat not only follows Jolly's translation: « *caritra* repose sur des documents écrits »[5]; he actually defends it: « Le mot *pustakaraṇa* est partout glosé par *lekhya* ou *likhita.* Il désigne donc la preuve écrite, par opposition à *vyavahāra* qui désignerait exclusivement la preuve par témoins (*sākṣiṣu sthita*) »[6].

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5. R. Lingat, *Les quatre pieds*, p. 493.
6. R. Lingat, *Les quatre pieds*, p. 496. Cf. p. 497: « ... il n'est pas anormal que le mot *caritra* dans notre formule ait servi à désigner la preuve écrite, par une métonymie analogue à celle qui a fait de *vyavahāra* le synonyme de preuve testimoniale ».

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Others are more cautious. Derrett [7] quotes Jolly's interpretation, but he inserts a question mark: « *Caritra* (documentary evidence[?]) is based on declarations reduced to writing ». Renou [8] warns that it is at least « sujet à caution ». Varadachariar [9] is even more negative: « Asahaya's commentary no doubt refers to some kinds of documents but is far from intelligible. I venture to doubt if on the strength of it Dr. Jolly was justified in rejecting the suggestion... made by other commentators that Charitra in this verse refers to "usage" ».

Kane [10] exhibits a different approach: he maintains the traditional meaning of *caritra* « custom », but combines it with Asahāya's reference to written documents: « "Caritraṃ pustakaraṇe" means that... usages are valid means of decision if they have been written down by the king ». Similarly, Rangaswami Aiyangar [11] interprets *pustakaraṇa* as « customary law, as recorded in books ». The index to the Vyavahāramātṛkā volume of the Dharmakośa (p. 39) also resorts to this type of combination: « *pustakaraṇa* = written document; book of traditional law ».

In fact, this idea of « customs reduced to writing » also seems to go back to the time of the nibandhakāras. For instance, the Parāśaramādhavīya (p. 19) has the following note on *pustakaraṇa*:

> *karṇāṭakadeśe balān mātulasutāvivāho na doṣāya, keraladeśe kanyāyā ṛtumatītvaṃ na doṣāyetyevamādikas taddeśasamayas; tatra tatra pattrādiśāsane 'vatiṣṭhate.*

Mitramiśra's Vyavahāraprakāśa (p. 7) attributes a similar interpretation to Caṇḍeśvara:

> *Caṇḍeśvareṇa tu caritraṃ pustakaraṇam iti paṭhitvā pustaṃ pañjikety arthaḥ; tatkaraṇam adhikaraṇam yasyeti vyāhṛtam* [12].

At this point I would like to introduce two other texts, which define *caritra* in a different way, the only two texts also which, like Nārada, use the formula:

nominative + *sthita* + locative.

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7. J. D. M. Derrett, *Custom and Law*, p. 154, n. 2.
8. L. Renou, *Etudes védiques et pāṇinéennes*, vol. XI, Paris, 1963, p. 7.
9. S. Varadachariar, *The Hindu Judicial System*, Lucknow, 1946, pp. 129-30.
10. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. III, Poona, 1946, p. 261. Quoted verbatim by A. S. Nataraja Ayyar, *Mīmāmsā Jurisprudence (The Sources of Hindu Law)*, Allahabad, 1952, p. 83.
11. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Introduction to Vyavahārakāṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataru*, Baroda, 1958, p. 7.
12. Cf. L. Rocher, *Caṇḍeśvara's Vyavahāraratnākara*, in JOIB 5 (1956), p. 264.

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Both the Agnipurāṇa (253.5a) and Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (3.1.40c) state:

caritraṃ [sthitaṃ] saṃgrahe puṃsām.

There is no reason to doubt Kangle's translation:

« customs [are based] on the commonly held view of men »[13].

Let us now return to Nārada, to notice that, besides the fact that *pustakaraṇe* — eventually *pustakaraṇam* — appears in no other text, it is also not the only reading attested for the Nāradasmṛti. Jolly himself noted the variant *praśnakaraṇe* in three Nārada manuscripts. Bhavasvāmin, immediately after the interpretation mentioned earlier, takes notice of the reading of the Agnipurāṇa and the Arthaśāstra as a varia lectio for the Nāradīyamanusaṃhitā:

caritraṃ saṃgrahaḥ puṃsām iti pāṭhāntaram. pāramparyāvicchinnasmṛtideśādhiṣṭhānagaṇadharmaḥ satpuruṣaiḥ parigṛhītaḥ; tasmin sthita iti sambandhaḥ.

Far more important is another variant reading, adopted in the Vyavahāraprakāśa of the Vīramitrodaya. Mitramiśra (p. 7) explicitly rejects Caṇḍeśvara's reading *caritraṃ pustakaraṇam*, as follows:

tad rūḍhihīnatvād vacanāntarāsaṃvādāc ca heyam.

He prefers to follow the Parāśaramādhavīya:

atra Mādhavīye caritraṃ tu svīkaraṇam iti pāṭhaṃ likhitvā deśācāraś caritraṃ tatsvīkāre tu tad eva nirṇayahetur iti vyākhyātam[14].

Taking Nārada, Kauṭilya, and the Agnipurāṇa together, we obtain the following variants for the definition of *caritra*:

pustakaraṇe
praśnakaraṇe
tu svīkaraṇe
saṃgrahe puṃsām

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13. Cf. Śrīmūla, *caritraṃ lokācāraḥ saṃgrahe grāmasamūhe daśagrāmyādau puṃsāṃ pratiṣṭhitam.*

14. Cf. Parāśaramādhavīya, vol. III, pp. 10 and 17. KANE also seems to prefer this reading: « Nārada's text as read by Caṇḍeśvara: caritraṃ pustakaraṇe, means "documentary evidence", but Par. M. (III.10) reads caritraṃ tu svīkaraṇe » (*Kātyāyana*, p. 125 n.). Cf. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. III, p. 261: « "caritraṃ tu svīkaraṇe" ... means "usages become the rule of decision when they are accepted as valid by the people and by the courts" ».

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Faced with this situation we can adopt two different attitudes toward the text of Nārada. One can accept the fact that, from very early times, there have been variant readings, — which however does not solve the problem of the strange and unique reading *pustakaraṇe*. Or one can go on the assumption that there was one original reading which has been corrupted in different ways [15]. If that be the case, I would like to propose *puṃsvakaraṇe* [16] or *puṃsvīkaraṇe*: « *caritra* (acceptable, recognized custom) rests on its being accepted by men » [17].

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15. There may have been other corruptions which have not been noticed in the editions. E.g., *Kṛtyakalpataru, Vyavahārakāṇḍa*, p. 260, notices *dustrīakaraṇe*.

16. Cf. Pāṇini 1.3.56: [*ātmanepadam*] *upād gamaḥ svakaraṇe*, however there with the meaning « to marry ».

17. After these materials had been collected, I noticed that at least one author (J. J. Meyer, *Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 241) has tried to emend *pustakaraṇe*. He proposes *puṃsakaraṇe* or *puṃsāṃ karaṇe*, but would prefer *puṃsacaraṇe* or *puṃsāṃ caraṇe*.

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RANAJIT SARKAR

TOWN AND COUNTRY:
THE IMAGE OF EXILE IN MEGHADŪTA

Kālidāsa has received unreserved praise for the descriptive quality of his poetry. However, no one has as yet fully explored the nature of this splendid description. We have not been given an answer to a very pertinent critical question: What is the nature and significance of this description? It will therefore be our aim, in this article, to probe systematically into at least one significant descriptive structure and find out its semantc implications.

There are two relatively distinct functions of description, the first being decorative (*citra*) and the second being symbolic and suggestive (*dhvani*) [1]. Literary works in which only the decorative function prevails, *citrakāvya*, is considered by critics to possess the lowest poetic value [2]. But the critic has to be very careful in his dealings with the decorative description. A passage which, when taken out of its context, appears to be only a decoration, can acquire within the context the value of a symbol. Decoration too has its place in poetry when it becomes a frame, a setting to life; but description attains its highest function when it reveals the aesthetic and emotive experience, *rasa*, which underlies the poetic work. Description is then no longer exterior to the total poetic reality; it is the concretisation of the poet's deeper experience, of his expectations and desires.

Kālidāsa's descriptions, even when taken out of their context, are never just a reproduction of the outside of an object or scene. If we consider them in the greater context in which they are embedded, we discover other dimensions of meaning, — symbolic-suggestive —, than when they are taken separately. It is with this view that we propose to analyze one significant descriptive structure, viz. the duality town-coun-

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1. For the notions of the two functions in modern poetics: GERARD GENETTE, *Figures II*, Seuil, Paris, 1969, pp. 58-9; in Sanskrit poetics, *Dhvanyāloka* III, 42-3.
2. MAMMAṬA, *Kāvya-prakāśa*, I.5.

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try, which according to us forms an important semantic element of *Meghadūta*.

In order to grasp the symbolic meaning of a discourse we have first to find out what constitutes the symbolism: this is the analytical aspect of our study; next, we have to synthetize our findings so that the structure reveals the meaning: this is the interpretative aspect, this is what the symbolism wishes to say, this is its « expressiveness »[3]

The symbol, in this case, the complex descriptive texture made up of the interrelation between the town and the country, points towards a second meaning, which lies behind the first level of designation. « Il y a symbole », writes Paul Ricœur, « lorsque le langage produit des signes de degré composé où le sens, non content de désigner quelque chose, désigne un autre sens qui ne saurait être atteint que dans et par sa visée »[4]. This idea of symbolism is not new and not limited to the modern Western thought; Ānandavardhana also speaks of other degrees of meaning. The « expressiveness » of symbolism is called *pratīyamāna*, which is different from the denotative meaning — *tasya vācyād anyatvam*[5].

Our effort will then be twofold, analysis and interpretation; it will be a constant coming and going between the denotative level and the expressive level.

We intend to show that this duality, town-country, reflects the condition of the Yakṣa's mind, his expectations and his desires; and that this mind itself is urbanized, moulded by the conception that the highest beauty comes through art; it is not the simple spontaneous unpolished face of nature.

Some writers tend to think that the ancient Indian culture was predominantly a rural culture. Goḍe[6] says that Kālidāsa's metaphors picture a civilisation which was fostered in the forests. But this is a very partial vision, both of Kālidāsa and of the Indian culture. The urban culture is as much a part of the Indian life at the time of Kālidāsa as the beauty and grandeur of villages and forests, rivers and mountains: Kālidāsa's works abound in splendid descriptions of cities, real or imaginary, like Ujjayinī, Ayodhyā, Oṣadhiprastha, Alakā. A superficial reading of *Meghadūta* may lead one to think that Kālidāsa has a nostalgic preference for the country, but when we analyse the descriptions, we are struck by the realisation that the bright shadow of the « town » is everpresent, as the symbol of perfection, as the highest standard of comparison.

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3. Paul Ricoeur, *The Problem of the Double-Sense as Hermeneutic Problem and as Semantic Problem*, in « Myths and Symbols, Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade », Chicago and London, 1969, pp. 78-9.

4. Paul Ricoeur, *De l'interprétation, essai sur Freud*, Seuil, Paris, 1965, pp. 4-5.

5. *Dhvanyālokā*, I, 4 *vṛtti*.

6. P. K. Goḍe, *Mahākavī Kālidās kī upamāoṃ kā manovaijñānik adhyayan*, pp. 107-19, repr. in « Kālidāsa Granthāvalī », ed. Sītārām Caturvedī, 3rd ed. Kāśī, saṃvat 2019, p. 119 (Part 3).

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However, we should bear in mind that the Kālidāsian town is not the town of the modern poets, it is not infernal; it is one of those norms and archetypes, the Good City [7], a piece of Heaven, *divaḥ khaṇḍam ekam* [8] (30). For the poet of today the modern city as a phenomenon of experience, contrasts vehemently with the archetype of imagination [9], but for Kālidāsa experience did not annul imagination. Therefore he could use the town and the country as poetic units and contrast them, as he wished, to bring out the intended significance.

The opposition town-country in *Meghadūta* does not lead to the absolute rejection of the one and the acceptance of the other; it is rather the projection of the one, the town, on the other, the country.

The very opening verse clearly points to the contrast and also to the reason underlying this contrast:

kaścit kāntā-viraha-guruṇā svādhikāra-pramattaḥ
śāpenāstaṃ-gamita-mahimā varṣa-bhogyeṇa bhartuḥ
yakṣaś cakre Janaka-tanayā-snāna-puṇyodakeṣu
snigdha-cchāyā-taruṣu vasatiṃ Rāma-giryāśrameṣu (1)

For the neglect of his duty, a certain Yakṣa was deprived of his glorious status by the curse of his master: condemned to suffer grievous separation from his beloved for the length of a year, he made his home among the hermitages of Rāmagiri, whose trees gave gentle shade and whose waters were sanctified by the bath of Janaka's daughter.

Several words and allusions here are especially significant. The word « *kāntā-viraha* », separation from his beloved wife, creates the psychological background, — the psychology of exile —; the separation is a forced one, brought about by the curse of the Yakṣa's master, Kubera. And his wife lives in Alakā, Kubera's capital. The exiled Yakṣa's mind is constantly drawn towards home, even though he knows that this separation will last one whole year. We should note here, that the Yakṣa's home is Alakā where his beloved wife is.

The idea of exile is reinforced by the allusion to another story of exile, that of the Rāmāyaṇa. The mention of *Janaka-tanayā*, daughter of Janaka, i.e. Sītā, bathing in the lakes of the Rāma-giri, and the name of the mountain itself, bring to the reader's mind the great exile of Rāma. In this verse neither Alakā nor Ayodhyā, Rāma's city, are mentioned by name, but we can easily discover the underlying tension between the shaded hermitage, *āśrama*, which at other times would be a place of rest and solace, and the splendid cities of Alakā and Ayodhyā which loom bright in the mind of the banished Yakṣa.

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7. Michael Hamburger, *The Truth of Poetry*, Harmondsworth, 1972, p. 296.
8. Numbers after Sanskrit quotations refer to the stanzas of *Meghadūta*, ed. E. Hultzsch, London, 1911.
9. Hamburger, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

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The nature is beautiful in itself, tender, full of repose, holy. But these very things take a different significance for the Yakṣa, because he has not come here to seek repose, he is not a hermit but a lover condemned to live far from his wife, *abalā-viprayuktaḥ sa kāmī* (2). Thus the Yakṣa's mind sees only the distance that separates him from home and he tries to bridge this distance by sending a message to his wife through the cloud, although he knows very well that this is a hopeless endeavour — for is not the cloud only a mass of vapour, fire, water and wind, *dhūma-jyotiḥ-salila-marutāṃ saṃnipātaḥ* (5), without sense or mind, *paṭu-karaṇa*?

The whole emphasis is on the distance: the word *dūra*, far, is repeated on several occasions. First, the poet says that when the rains come, even the hearts of those who are happy languish; isn't it all the more so, of those whose beloved are far away — *dūra-saṃstha* (3)? Next, the Yakṣa himself says,

vidhi-vaśād dūra-*bandhur gato 'ham* (6)
Fate has willed that I should be far away from my beloved.

The path which leads from Rāmagiri to Alakā is very long. Not only has Fate conspired that the Yakṣa should be far away, it has moreover barred the way to Alakā. This is what the Yakṣa says in his message to his wife:

dūravartī... vidhinā vairiṇā ruddha-mārgaḥ (98),
Far away... and the way barred by adverse fate.

Before starting to describe the path, *mārga*, which the cloud has to follow, the Yakṣa indicates by the words *khinnaḥ khinnaḥ* and *kṣiṇaḥ kṣiṇaḥ* (13) that the journey will be tiresome and long.

From the very beginning Kālidāsa lays stress on the fact of exile and the distance. At the two opposite ends of this distance stand the *āśrama*, the symbol of country, the place of exile, and Alakā, the divine city, the place of love and union.

In order to bring out this contrast we shall try to analyse the images of town and conutry that Kāldāsa presents before us. Home, *vasati*, for the Yakṣa is really Alakā: we see this clearly when we put side by side the two verses where the word « *vasati* » occurs:

1. *Yakṣaś* cakre... *vasatiṃ Rāmagiryāśrameṣu* (1)
   The Yakṣa made his home among the hermitages of Rāmagiri.

2. *gantavyā te vasatir Alakā nāma Yakṣeśvarāṇām* (7)
   You shall go to Alakā, home of the glorious Yakṣas.

In the first, the verb *cakre*, « made », lays stress on the temporary character of this dwelling; it is not really his home; in contrast, Alakā is *the* home.

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Let us now analyse the pattern of the country and of the town. We shall consider only the earthly scene, because when we take the heavenly scene the contrast disappears; the hills and forests where Śiva dwells are as perfect as the divine city Alakā. It is only on the earth that we find the contrast.

There is no gainsaying that the image which Kālidāsa paints of the countryside, of nature untempered by human art, is one of intense beauty, both in poetic vision and in imaginative expression. What we want to show is that all this beauty is, to the Yakṣa's mind, an obstacle which will delay the flight of the messenger towards his home. Because of this we find a sense of haste in this context. The Yakṣa evokes the beauty of the country which cannot be denied; but he urges the cloud not to tarry too long:

sthitvā tasmin vana-cara-vadhū-bhukta-kuñje muhurtaṃ
toyotsarga-drutatara-gatis tat-paraṃ vartma tīrnaḥ... (15)

Stay there for a while in the bowers which are the pleasant resorts of the forest-dwellers' wives; then let fall your burden of water to quicken your speed and go further...

Here we should notice the stress on the word *muhurtam*, moment; the Yakṣa, further, seems to say: You will have to make up for the time lost, by going faster — *drutatara-gati*. A similar contrast occurs again between *drutam* and *kāla-kṣepam*.

utpaśyāmi drutam api sakhe mat-priyārthaṃ yiyāsoḥ
kāla-kṣepaṃ kakubha-surabhau parvate-parvate te... (22)

Though you would, friend, like to go quickly for the sake of my beloved, yet I can imagine your delay on those hills fragrant with the kakubha-blooms...

The country is beautiful but does not have the art to hold one for long; the movement is towards the town. The cloud is asked to tarry just a while to enjoy the beauty of the country, but he should then go further:

kiṃcit paścād vraja laghu-gatir bhūya evottareṇa (16)

After a short while, move on again lightly, towards the North.

But when the cloud comes to a town the sense of haste is less; although until the cloud reaches Alakā he cannot stop, yet every town is, so to say, an image of the home-town. The Yakṣa says, When you come to Vidiśā you will attain the perfect fruit of love, *phalam avikalaṃ kāmukatvasya* (24). You have to go further, but only after you have rested yourself, *visrāntaḥ san vraja* (26).

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The partiality to the city is also marked when we hear that in spite of all the haste, the Yakṣa instructs the cloud to abandon the straight path so that he may visit Ujjayinī:

vakraḥ panthā yad api bhavataḥ prasthitasyottarāśāṃ
saudhotsaṅga-praṇaya-vimukho mā sma bhūr Ujjayinyāḥ (27)

Do not shun the loving company of Ujjayinī's palace-roofs though the way be indirect for you who are northward-bound.

The contrast in the use of the time-element in respect to the country and the town gives greater value to the town.

Another point of contrast is the nature of the descriptive elements. The country is beautiful but it is not the expression of the perfect beauty; whereas the town is perfect. Not only Alakā but even Ujjayinī is heavenly. The city of Ujjayinī, as it were, is a bright piece of heaven, *divaḥ kāntimat khaṇḍam ekam* (30). The description of the country shows elements which disturb the quiet enjoyment of beauty. Beauty, we should remember, resides in the enjoyment of it, in *rasāsvādana.* That reality which possesses elements that disturb the quiet enjoyment is therefore imperfect. The forests have forest-fires (21), *vanopaplava* (17), *davāgni* (53), which torment the mountains and burn the tails of yaks: *badhetolkā-kṣapita-camarī-vāla-bhāro davāgniḥ* (53).

But in the town there are no such disturbing elements. Even the image of the cloud is different in the country; he is asked to cover the bodies of the proud *śarabha,* with the terrible laughter of a shower of hail, *tumula-karakā-vṛṣṭi-hāsa* (54). But in the town, in Ujjayinī, the roar of thunder is to be the rolling sound of drums at the worship of Śiva:

kurvan saṃdhyā-bali-paṭahatāṃ śūlinaḥ ślāghanīyām
āmandrāṇām phalam avikalaṃ lapsyase garjitānām (34)

By imitating the praiseworthy drum at the evening-worship of Śiva you shall get the perfect reward of your deep-rolling thunder.

In the same way, he is asked not to frighten the women of Ujjayinī at night by his rumbling thunder, or by the shower of rain; but, on the contrary, to show them the way to their lovers' home with his lightning:

saudāmanyā kanaka-nikaṣa-snigdhayā darśayorvīṃ
toyotsarga-stanita mukharo mā sma bhūr viklavās tāḥ (37)

Light up the ground with your lightning, gentle as a streak of gold on the touchstone, let not the rain fall nor the thunder roar: they are timid.

Another contrast is between the townswomen and the country-women. The typical countrywomen are the simple Siddha-women who tremble in fear, thinking that the cloud is a mountaintop carried off by

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the wind (14); or the villagewomen, *janapada-vadhū*, whose eyes have not learned the skilful play of the eyebrows (16); or the flowergirls who must work hard to pluck the jasmine: sweat flows down their cheeks, and as they wipe their cheeks the ear-lotuses shaken violently by the hands wither away (26). These are artless women, one may enjoy their company for a while, *kiṃcit* (16), *kṣaṇa-paricita* (26), but they cannot give the delight which the artful townswomen can.

Notice the contrast between the tremulous restless eyes, *lolāpāṅga locana* (28) of the townswomen and the previously mentioned artless eyes of the villagewomen. The townswomen dress their hair and make them fragrant with the smoke of incense (32); in contrast the flower ornaments of villagewomen are disordered (26).

Above all the contrast town-country is marked by the anthropomorphic images that are so often superimposed on nature. These lend unambiguously a higher aesthetic value to the townswomen than to the unsophisticated villagewomen. The mind of the Yakṣa is filled with the image of Alakā and his home and his wife. The whole nature is the projection of this mind which is fashioned by a highly refined urbanity.

Much has been said of the anthropomorphism in the natural descriptions of Sanskritt poets; we need not dwell upon this point. What we want to emphasize is the fact that the human forms Kālidāsa superimposes are those of townsfolk; this symbolic superimposition reveals the Yakṣa's urbanity. The decorative aspect of the description recedes to the background to make room for the symbolic expression of this psycho-poetic urban world. If we understand this process of superimposition, it will not be difficult to interpret the poem as the expression of an urban mentality.

Let us take a few examples which will make clear this process of urbanisation. In this poem several rivers are personified as perfect *nāyikās*, skillful in the coquettish art of love; these *nāyikās* are not simple, *mugdhā*, like the villagewomen. Of Vetravatī it is said:

sa-bhrū-bhaṅgaṃ mukham iva payo Vetravatyāś calormi (24)

... the quivering water of Vetravatī like a face with brows knitted...;

of Nirvindhyā:

vici-kṣobha-stanita-vihaga-śreṇi-kāñci-guṇāyāḥ
saṃsarpantyāḥ skhalita-subhagaṃ darśitāvarta-nābheḥ
Nirvindhyāyāḥ... (28)

... of Nirvindhyā whose girdle-string is made of a row of birds resounding with the waves' upsurge, and who stumbles gracefully as she meanders along revealing her whirlpool-navel...

Both these show the transmutation of the rivers into townswomen. One of the characteristics of these women is the play of sidelong glances, *lolāpāṅga* (27); on several occasions we discover this trait of urbanisation. Of the river Gambhīrā, the Yakṣa says, that the glances are bright

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and flickering like the upward leaps of the restless silvery *śaphara*-fish: *caṭula-śapharodvartana-prekṣitāni* (40). This image finds its reflection later in the picture of the Yakṣa's wife who is the townswoman of the perfectly heavenly town, Alakā. The Yakṣa tells the cloud:

tvayy āsanne nayanam upari-spandi śaṅke mṛgākṣyā
mīna-kṣobhāc cala-kuvalaya-śrī-tulām eṣyatīti (92)

At your approach, I am afraid, the eye of that fawn-eyed girl will look up tremulously, acquiring thus a beauty like that of the water-lily shaken by a darting fish.

Compare again the description of the love-play of the Yakṣawomen whose dresses are loosened, *nīvī-bandhocchvasita-śithilaṃ... kṣaumam* (69), with the words describing the river Gambhīrā:

tasyāḥ kiṃcit kara-dhṛtam iva prāpta-vānīra-śākhaṃ
hṛtvā nīlaṃ salila-vasanaṃ mukta-rodho-nitambam... (41)

Drawing away her blue water-garment held lightly by the reeds as by a hand, to disclose her hip-like banks...

In this anthropomorphism we notice the strong influence of the sophisticated town-life. This superimposition is significant in the context of the Yakṣa's mental state. Here, it is not just a poetic convention; it has a real psychological function; instead of a conventional descriptive means it has become a symbolic projection of his tormented soul. After giving the message to the cloud he says that these words are composed by his yearning anguished heart, *utkaṇṭhā-viracita-pada* (99). Not only the words of the message, but the whole speech is the concrete expresson of this anguish. He projects on nature the image of his longing, which is, because of his origin and background, the image of the town and the town-life.

We shll note another element of contrast. When the Yakṣa mentions Śiva, Bhavānī or Skanda in the context of the town, Ujjayinī or Alakā, we find the expression of riches, splendour, dance, music, love-play; but in the context of the country the expresison is that of homely simplicity and affection. The first aspect suggests the image of artistic beauty and perfection, in contradistinction to the simple beauty of nature.

In the context of Alakā which is the highest ideal, we read of the divine couple walking hand in hand on the artificial hill, *kṛḍā-saila*:

Śambhunā datta-hastā
kṛḍā-śaile yadi ca viharet pāda-cāreṇa Gaurī... (60)

And if Gaurī holding Śambhu's hand, should take a walk on the playhill...

What is brought into focus here is the aspect of urban life; the same aspect is reflected in the shrine in Ujjayinī, where temple-girls dance

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and wave the yak-tail fans, their girdle-bells tinkling with the rythmic dance-steps (35). Here we have a scene of splendour, wealth, dance and music. But away from the city, on the Devagiri Hill, the scene is very different. Around the temple of Caṇḍeśvara in Ujjayinī blow voluptuous winds from Gandhavatī, fragrant with lotus-pollen and bearing the perfumes from the bodies of young bathing girls. The holy shrine, *puṇyaṃ dhāma*, is:

> *dhūtodyānaṃ kuvalaya-rajo-gandhibhir Gandhavatyās*
> *toya-kriḍābhirata-yuvati-snāna-tiktair marudbhiḥ* (33)
>
> ... whose gardens are fanned by the winds of Gandhavatī bearing the perfume of lotus-pollen and of the baths of young women playing with water.

But in Devagiri, home of Śiva's son, Skanda, a cool breeze blows; this breeze is also perfumed, not with the perfumes that the townswomen use, but with the perfume of the earth, — *vasudhā-gandha-samparka-ramyaḥ... śīto vāyuḥ* (42). Here the thunder remains a thunder, whose sound echoes in the mountains (44); it does not have to imitate the drum; the dancers here are not the temple courtezans, but the peacocks; Bhavānī too wears the fallen feathers of the peacock's tail over het ears instead of lotuspetals.

We find therefore a constant confrontation of the town and the country in *Maghadūta*. This confrontation leads to the attribution of a higher poetic value to the town; this does not, however, mean the denial of the country.

We must understand this preference in the psychological context of the Yakṣa's vision. Kālidāsa, the poet, the first speaker, as a court-poet, may have a preference for the town, for art in opposition to nature. But that is not at present our concern. From the poem itself it is difficult to deduce how far the poet identifies himself with the second speaker, the poet's creation, the Yakṣa. Except the five opening stanzas the whole poem is a narration by the Yakṣa. And when we consider it in that context, we notice that the descriptions which are on the decorative level images of the country, become on the symbolic-expressive level the projection of the Yakṣa's mind. The mental world of the Yakṣa is made of the anguish of exile; his efforts to reach his wife are useless; a great distance and a year (a part of which has already passed) separate him from his wife. He would that time and space were reduced, but impossible are these desires. Exile is the only reality:

> *itthaṃ cetaś caṭula-nayane durlabha-prārthanaṃ me*
> *gāḍhoṣmābhiḥ kṛtam aśaraṇaṃ tvad-viyoga-vyāthābhiḥ* (105)
>
> In this way my heart, of which it is difficult to fulfil the desire, is made helpless, o tremulous-eyed girl; by the deeply burning anguish of separation from you.

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The symbolic nature of the description arises from the Yakṣa's desire to reunite with his wife and from the terrible sense of exile. The whole nature is pervaded by this mental stuff. The true place, the perfect heaven is Alakā, his home where his wife is. And in his fancy the Yakṣa tries to recreate that home. What is nearest to him in space, is the country, so different from the palaces of Alakā; it is beautiful with a simple beauty, not chastened by art. His fancy gives artistic perfection to it by superimposing the images of the town and town-life. It is only in an earthly town, in particular in Ujjayinī, not in the country-scenes, that he finds a near-perfect expression of his dream.

The description reflects on the one hand the past experience of the Yakṣa, the memories of Alakā and of the love-play with his wife; and on the other hand the image of the future re-union, a dream-fulfilment. Bhāmaha, defining *bhāvikatva*, says

> *bhāvikatvam iti prāhuḥ prabandha-viṣayaṃ guṇam*
> *pratyakṣā iva dṛśyante yatrārthā bhūta-bhāvinaḥ* (3.53)
>
> Bhāvikatva, « expressiveness », it is said, is an artistic quality on the level of composition. In this case, objects past and future are seen concretely.

In the description of *Meghadūta* it is this *bhāvikatva* that we find at work. It makes concrete and expressive, through the contrast town-country, the mental state of the exiled Yakṣa which lies deeper than the decorative level of description.

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SATYAVRAT SHASTRI

THE YOGAVĀSIṢṬHA — A STUDY IN VOCABULARY

A voluminous work of some thirty two thousand stanzas in its vulgate edition, the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* has much to offer to a careful reader in many fields, including that of its vocabulary. Though conforming to standard Sanskrit idiom by and large it permits itself many peculiarities in the use of words and their formations. Some of these [1] are proposed to be noticed in the present study [2]. The words for convenience of analysis have been divided here into two (i) unfamiliar words or familiar words with unfamiliar meanings, (ii) made-up or descriptive words. An analysis of such words (i and ii) can serve a useful purpose in that it can supplement the existing knowledge of the vocabulary of Sanskrit by supplying missing links in it. It can also bring to the fore the imaginative faculty of the author in handling words, with at least some of which he could play at times. Other peculiarities of the words include the modern look about some of them, with signs of influence of Prakrit.

Unfamiliar Words or Words with unfamiliar meanings

These include such words as *aṅgaruha* [3] feather, *añjas* [4] manifestly, *asthi* [5] conch, *aṣṭhi* kernal [6], *aṣṭhīla* [7], *aṣṭhīvat* [8] knotty, *āpātanikā* [9] intro-

1. Some such words, the author has noticed already, vide his articles: *Unpāṇinian Forms in the Yogavāsiṣṭha*, in VIJ, Hoshiarpur, Vol. I, Part II, 1963; *Notes on the Language of the Yogavāsiṣṭha*, in ABORI, Golden Jubilee Volume, 1968; *Some Popular Etymologies in the Yogavāsiṣṭha*, in « Journal of the Department of Sanskrit », University of Delhi, Vol. I, No. 2, 1972; *Ka (kan) ending words in the Yogavāsiṣṭha*, in ABORI, Diamond Jubilee Volume, 1978.

2. It is based on the Nirnaya Sagar Press edition, Bombay, 1937.

3. V.61.5. Literally the word means growing on the body which on the face of it could be anything. Amara reads *tanūruha* in the sense of feather and hair (*loman*).

4. VI(ii).137.27. The Commentary *Tātparyaprakāśa* (TP.) explains it as *sākṣāt*.

5. VI(i).15.16.

6. VI(i).45.12.

7. VI(ii).180.15. *aṣṭhī* means a big knot (*granthi*), *aṣṭhīla* then would be possessing the knot or knotty.

8. VI(i).7.7.

9. II.18.49.

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duction, *ārabhaṭī*[10] confused noise, hullaballoo, *āvāta*[11] coming out, issuing forth, *bhissā*[12] skin, a cover enveloping the seed (*bījasārāvaraṇabhāgaḥ*), *bhramī*[13] confusion, lack of balance in thinking, *carma*[14] husk (used in the context of paddy), *ceṇḍaka*[15] a support made up of grass (to be put on the head), *daṇḍapāda*[16] beating of the foot, *dat*[17] ivory vessel, *daradin*[18] under the influence of poison, *dhvaṁsikā*[19] destruction in between the two Manvantaras (vide commentary [TP.] *Manvantarasandhipralayaḥ*), *gargaṭa*[20] a kind of instrument, *garta*[21] wound, *guḍuccha*[22] or *gulucca*[23] or *gulucchaka*[24] a bunch of flowers or a clustor of blossoms, *gharṣula*[25] given to rubbing, *i*[26] an expletive particle, *jambulaka*[27] fox, *janya*[28] a (skilled) soldier, a warrior, *kaccha*[29]

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10. VI(ii).73.43.
11. VI(ii).137.19.
12. VI(ii).127.16.
13. VI(ii).4.47. The word is formed from the Kṛdanta form *bhrami* from √ *bhram* with the feminine suffix *ī* (*ṅīṣ*). Its more wellknown meaning is « whirlpool or dizziness ».
14. IV.54.37. *taṇḍulasya yathā carma.* Ordinarily it means skin or hide. The present sense seems to be inspired by similarity: *carma iva carma, aupamikaḥ prayogaḥ.* Skin protects the body. Husk protects the grain. What skin is to the body, husk is to paddy.
15. III.107.9. The word is found in Hindi and some other vernaculars in the form *iṇḍu* or *īṇḍvā* or *innu* or *binnu.* Sanskrit also has a word *iṇḍva* meaning covering for hands to protect them when removing the *ukhā* fire. In sound the Hindi *iṇḍu* and *iṇḍvā* conform more to Sanskrit *iṇḍva* but in meaning they conform more to *ceṇḍaka* of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha.* As *ceṇḍaka* has not been found elsewhere nothing is known of its derivation. The form of it, however, suggests that it might have been a Desi word accepted into Sanskrit.
16. III.49.41. The term is wellknown in texts on dramaturgy.
17. V.48.8.
18. VI(ii).44.34. From the word *darada,* poison.
19. VI(i).92.25. It is a technical term.
20. VI(ii).92.25. It is difficult to identify it.
21. IV.27.1. Ordinarily it means pit or depression. The present usage seems to be inspired by similarity, *garta iva gartaḥ, aupamikaḥ prayogaḥ.* Wounds are depressions on the body.
22. IV.49.4.
23. III.27.39.
24. VI(i).61.19.
25. VI(ii).76.9.
26. V.47.20. Vide the commentary (TP.): *i iti khalvarthe nipātaḥ.*
27. IV.11.70. The reading is doubtful. Some Mss. read *cañculaka* which would signify a kind of a bird.
28. VI(ii).114.9. It normally means war or battle, *yuddha.* From this the author seems to extend it to cover the sense of one who engages himself in war, battle, a *yoddhṛ,* a soldier or a warrior. Grammatically the word could be formed with the addition of the Taddhita suffix *ac*: *janyam asyāstīti janyaḥ.*
29. III.38.5. Probably it has the same meaning as Sanskrit *kakṣa* which would have became *kaccha* in Prakrit and in course of time was accepted back in Sanskrit.

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armpit(?), *kalamagopikā*[30] the female guard of paddy, *kakṣa*[31] heap of straws or joint of tree-trunk and branches[32], *karabha*[33] ass (*gardabha*) or bear (*bhallūka*), *kaśmā*[34] swoon, *kālikā*[35] ignorance (*avidyā*), *kharolikā*[36] a game for merriment, *kiṇa*[37] hollow of a tree, *kirāru*[38] shrivelled grains, *kopita*[39] highly tormented or excessively harassed (*atipīḍita*), *kṛtti*[40] separateness, variety, *kuka*[41] to seize, *lāṅgūla*[42] the tongue-like piece of iron that hangs from the hollow of a bell, *lekha*[43] a dug up channel, *matha*[44] annihilated (by the gods), *mihikā*[45] mist, *pādajāti*[46] of superior quality, *mṛdvikā*[47] very soft, *palyūla*[48] heap of dry leaves etc., *paribimbitavat*[49] desired, *pādū*[50] a horse shoe, *paṭala*[51] a flower basket, (*puṣpakaraṇḍaka*), *paṭalāndhekṣaṇa*[52] blind of eyes because of cataract,

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Monier Williams puts forward the above conjecture in the context of another meaning of the word, viz., the edge of lower garment. The same can be put forward, as done above, in the case of the meaning « armpit » too.

30. VI(i).85.17.

31. VI(ii).36.22.

32. VI(i).15.13.

33. V.14.15; VI(ii).137.11.

34. VI(ii).111.4. Though its presence could be detected in words like *kaśmala*, as an independent word it is rare.

35. VI(i).44.8. Formed from *kāla*, the word is taken in the literal sense. *Kālikā* would then mean darkness which symbolizes ignorance. Hence it could means ignorance.

36. III.104.30; VI(ii).96.31. The commentary (TP.) explains it *mithyākautukakrīḍā*.

37. III.70.42. This meaning is restricted to lexicons only. The word popularly means a scar. Since the hollow in a tree can well be taken as a scar on it, *kiṇa* is used to denote it. The usage, in line with many others of the kind in the work is in all probability inspired by similarity: *kiṇa iva kiṇaḥ, aupamikaḥ prayogaḥ*.

38. VI(ii).97.39.

39. IV.59.33.

40. IV.18.8.

41. VI(ii).168.31.

42. V.54.3. Vide commentary (TP.): *lambamānajihvākāraṁ loham*. Most probably this use too is inspired by similarity: *lāṅgūlam iva lāṅgūlam; aupamikaḥ prayogaḥ*; it looks like tail. Hence it is *lāṅgūla*.

43. III.70.45. Most likely this use is inspired by the literal meaning of the underlying *likh* which is « to scratch, to scrape ».

44. III.38.39. *Matha* here has the sense of *unmathita*.

45. III.122.56. It is interesting that in sound and sense the word is nearest to English *mist*.

46. VI(ii).115.23.

47. VI(i).92.37. The meaning of it listed in lexicons is « a vine, a bunch of grapes ». In the present work however, it seems to preserve the sense of the base word *mṛdu*.

48. VI(ii).24.8.

49. VI(ii).180.24.

50. III.19.8.

51. III.41.8.

52. IV.21.40. *Paṭala* is a kind of disease: a film over the eyes, cataract.

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paṭalinī [53] eye that has developed cataract, *patrāla* [54] covered with foliage, *phalinī* [55] Kalpalatā, desire-yielding creeper, *piṇḍabhāryā* [56] a fleshy knot in the left side of the abdomen, *pītala* [57] yellow, *prativiṣā* [58] poison creeper, *puryaṣṭaka* [59] the Self, *repha* [60] a bee or its wing or its humming, *rīti* [61] brass, *śābdika* [62] one making sounds, *saṁkhyā* [63] light, *saṁśīkā* [64] doubtful, *sāra* [65] entire, complete, *śukta* [66] honey (*mākṣika*), *śyāmikā* [67] darkness, *tarṇaka* [68] calf, *tarṣula* [69] thirsty, *tāṇḍavinī* [70] a female dancer, *tṛṇamaṇi* [71] a kind of stone which attracts grass to it, *vācanīya* [72] to be made to speak, *vāstuka* [73] a place of habitation, *vidhurita* [74] disturbed, *kṣubdha*, *vikālita* [75] harrassed, *yamayātrā* [76] a festival in honour of Yama, the god of death.

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53. V.34.103. The word occurs in the context of *dṛṣṭi*, « sight ».

54. VI(ii).120.13. Formed probably on the analogy of *jaṭāla*, IV.8.7; IV.59.18 or *śirāla*, VI(ii).81.8.

55. V.61.33. Since the Kalpalatā is always having fruits on it, hence the name *phalinī* for it.

56. III.38.32.

57. VI(ii).115.30. The word means the same as *pīta*.

58. VI(i).7.13. Kṣīrasvāmin takes it as a creeper which cures poison, *pratīpaviṣasya agadatvāt*, vide his comment on *Amara*, II.4.99.

59. VI(i).50.17. The term has been defined by the author himself as: *eṣa eva svabhāvātmā janaiḥ puryaṣṭakaṁ smṛtaḥ*.

60. V.44.27; V.46.9. The known word for « bee » in Sanskrit is *dvirepha* which is inspired, as the linguisticians would have us believe, by the word *bhramara* which has two *rephas* or *r*- sounds in it. May be the *Yogavāsiṣṭha repha* is a short form for this. The sense of « the wings of a bee » may be an extension of the first meaning.

61. VI.(i).101.40.

62. VI(ii).59.5. The usage restricts the word to the grammarian, *vaiyākaraṇa*. The nearest meaning to the one of the text could be the one noticed by Monier Williams on the authority of the Wörterbuch which is « relating to sounds or words ». This meaning is however not warranted by Pāṇini.

63. V.80.5. The commentary (TP.) explains the word as *samyak khyānaṁ = prakāśaḥ*.

64. VI(ii).140.18.

65. III.108.18. The word occurs in the compound *sāranigīrṇa*, swallowed wholly or completely, a very new meaning indeed. From this *sāra* may be traced the *Hindi sārā*.

66. V.89.29.

67. III.106.25.

68. VI(i).93.18.

69. V.74.18; 20; VI(ii).76.9; VI(ii).92.3.

70. III.59.8.

71. VI(ii).128.8.

72. V.28.16. Generally √ *vaci* is used in the sense « to read out (letter, passage, etc.) ». The causal sense, « to make to speak » is rather unusual.

73. VI(ii).120.25. *Vāstu* is common enough. *Ka* is a Prakritic suffix.

74. VI(i).81.34.

75. VI(ii).198.29.

76. III.46.26. Vide the commentary (TP.) *Yamārādhanayātrotsavaḥ*.

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Of the many rather little known names of divine beings and human beings occurring in the work mention may be made of *Rūpikās*[77], a species of Piśācas, and *Saṁvarta*[78], brother of Bṛhaspati.

There are a number of obscure names of plants and trees too that find mention in the work. First we have the *śleṣmātaka*[79] tree a full description of which the work itself gives: 'it is a thorny tree growing in dirty or impure places, *sakaṇṭakam amedhyastham.*

Of the other botanical terms occurring in the work mention may be made of *bheruka*[80] name of a flower considered rather auspicious, *era*[81], a kind of grass, also called *eraka guḍuccha*[82], name of a creeper, or a particular medicinal herb with quick healing properties, *kuraṇṭaka*[83] a kind of thicket, *madanaphala*[84] and *mātuliṅga*[85], some kind of fruits, the latter believed to increase the heat in the eye (*pittam uddīpayati*) when eaten.

Of the many unfamiliar names of birds and insects occurring in the work mention may be made of *cāṣa*[86], *ghūrṇikā*[87], *krakara*[88], *vālmīka*[89], *vaṭīkā*[90], and *śālī*[91] all different kinds of birds, *prācikā*[92] a kind of spider with long feet, *puttikā*[93] and *vālakhilyas*[94] some type of insects, *varvaṇas*[95] blue flies (*nīlamakṣikās*), *valāṅgika*[96] a kind of animal.

There are a few words in the work which are rather little known names of places whose proper identification is not possible. Of them mention may be made of *bhūtagraha*[97] (*bhūtamaṇḍala*), *dīna*[98], *kīra-maṇḍala*[99] and *śauka*[100].

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77. VI(ii).134.22.
78. V.82.1.
79. VI(ii).24.16.
80. VI(ii).115.42.
81. V.68.51.
82. IV.49.4.
83. III.28.40.
84. V.89.28.
85. IV.54.8. Amara reads *mātuliṅgaka.*
86. VI(i).15.22.
87. V.51.35.
88. IV.32.20.
89. VI(ii).131.42.
90. VI(i).30.102.
91. VI(i).30.102.
92. III.71.32.
93. VI(i).8.18.
94. VI(ii).99.5.
95. IV.55.23.
96. VI(i).7.4.
97. V.45.77.
98. VI.84.34. Vide the commentary (TP.) *bhūtagraho bhūtamaṇḍalākhyo deśaviśeṣaḥ.*
99. V.45.25.
100. VI(i).22.16.

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Made-up words

Abhjātopala[101] crystal, *amaraśailendra*[102] and *devācala*[103], the mount Meru, *agrasuti*[104] water basin round the root of a tree, *arkamaṇi*[105] or *arkaratna*[106], the sun jewel (*sūryakāntamaṇi*), *asatsaka*[107] a thing which has no existence in reality, *asuradeśika*[108] Śukra (lit. *deśika* = *guru* of the Asuras), *avakarānila*[109] (*pralayavāyu*), the wind at the time of Destruction, *ājyapa*[110] deity, *bhavacārin*[111] the people who are wont to subsist on whatever (little) they get in return for their labour (vide commentary *tattaddinaprāptānnabhakṣaṇaśīlāḥ*), *dhātukṣobha*[112] disturbance or disequilibrium in humours, *jālakāra* spider[113], *kāmpika*[114] winnower, *khaḍgapṛṣṭhī*[115] or *asiśirā*[116] the edge of the word, *maruvāḥpratyaya*[117] mirage, *meghavidhi*[118] Indra, *lobhiliṅga*[119] given to sexual

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101. VI.35.44. Since crystal is of superior quality, the author would have his word convey it.

102. V.45.28.

103. V.74.13. For Meru the author coins the words *amaraśailendra* and *devācala* which means the mountain of the gods. Here also general words are taken to convey a particular thing, the mount Meru, probably because of its being the favourite resort of the *devas*.

104. VI(ii).7.15.

105. VI(ii).16.7.

106. V.53.30. It is a mere word play. The author has coined his own word. *Sūrya* has a number of synonyms. *Arka* is one of them. He has substituted it by that just to give a new look to the word.

107. VI(i).128.83. The coinage has a peculiar construction. The commentary (TP.) explains it as *asatsamāḥ kāyante kīryante iti* (*asat* + *sa* (= *sama*) + ka (= √ *kai* to say, to speak, *śabda*).

108. V.58.13. It is a descriptive word. The idea of Śukra is sought to be conveyed by mentioning him as the preceptor of Asuras that he is. The use of *deśika* here is rather interesting. It is more prevalent in the South.

109. IV.47.79. Literally the word means the wind that scatters debris. Since it is so fierce that it would uproot everything and would reduce it to debris, the author uses the word in the sense of *pralaya-vāyu*.

110. VI(ii).14.3. Literally it means one who drinks ghee, an obvious reference to the oblations of ghee poured into the fire for deities.

111. VI(ii).196.17. The formative explanation of the word could be: *bhavena carituṁ śīlaṁ yasya*. Here *bhava* is derived from √ *bhū* (*prāptau*) « to obtain ». Those who are used to keeping themselves up with whatever little they get. The Commentary (TP.) rightly explains it as: *prāptānnabhakṣaṇaśīla*.

112. VI(ii).209.11. *Dhātu* here means the same as in Āyurveda, the humour.

113. VI(ii).116.22. Literally it means that which makes a cobweb.

114. VI(ii).97.39. Literally it would mean one who tosses or shakes off. Since this action is connected in the mind of the author with the winnow-basket, the word is used in the sense of « a winnower ».

115. III.73.11.

116. VI(i).23.32.

117. VI(ii).186.37. It is a descriptive word. Literally it means « the place which causes the illusion of water in a desert ». This is what mirage is.

118. V.52.3. Literally it means that which causes the clouds, *meghān vidadhāti*. Since it is Indra who is god of rain and thunder, it is taken to signify Indra.

119. III.107.46. This a rather crude word meaning literally, one « with a greedy penis ». Figuratively it would mean « one given to sexual pleasures ».

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pleasures, *nāṅgaka*[120] cupid, *pāṇḍu acala*[121] the mount Kailāsa, *paṭavāsa*[122] pollen, *phalāmṛj*[123] fruit-plucker (fruit-gatherer), *pūraṇāśā*[124] the western quarter, *rāgatantrita*[125] passionate, *ṛtutvama*[126] the Sun, *sitoda*[127] the lake Acchoda; *sthiramaṇi*[128] crystal, *tantrībhāra*[129], a leather bag with strings, *tāpaka*[130] the Sun, *tāpanadī*[131] mirage, *taptakāñcanarut*[132] fire, *tuhināhāra*[133] fire, *ūrṇāyu*[134] a sheep or a ram, *utkara* palm of the hand, *vanala*[135] cloud, *varakalpanā*[136] bestowing of honour on the best of the soldiers; *vyomaplava*[137] an aerial car.

Prakritisms

Of some modern-looking Prakrit influenced rare words occurring in the work mention may be made of *ācchoḍa*[138] backbone, *ācchoṭa*[139],

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120. IV.7.22. Used in place of the more popular *anaṅga.*

121. VI(ii).198.33. This also is a general word conveying a particular thing. Literally it means white mountain. In the text it stands for Kailāsa because of its perpetual association with snow and consequently the white colour.

122. IV.6.14. Literally it means that which makes the clothes fragrant: *paṭān vāsayati.*

123. VI(i).7.43.

124. IV.35.34.

125. VI(ii).129.14.

126. V.47.20. The word has a peculiar construction. The commentary (TP.) explains it as: *ṛtūnām ṛtutvaṁ minoti paricchinatti iti ṛtutvamaḥ.* The word is descriptive of one of the functions of the Sun.

127. VI(ii).213.21.

128. V.67.45. This is also a coinage after the manner of *abhijātopala,* already noticed.

129. VI(i).82.10. TP. explains the word as: *tantrībhāro bhastrārūpaś carmaviśeṣaḥ.*

130. VI(i).2.2. Since the Sun causes heat: *tāpayati,* it is designated by that name. This replaces the usual *tapana.*

131. VI(ii).52.5. Literally it means « (the appearance of) river in heat ». A very imaginative word for mirage indeed!

132. V.83.5. *Rut* here is from √ *ru* « to give out sound », *śabda.* Fire is *taptakāñcanarut* for while burning it gives out sound like the one given out by the heated gold, vide the Commentary (TP.): *taptakāñcanam iva rauti dhvanatīti.*

133. VI(ii).145.31. It is a good instance of a descriptive word. *Tuhina* is frost, mist or cold. The one whose *āhāra,* food, is *tuhināhāra,* i.e. fire.

134. VI(ii).68.37. Lit. one possessing wool. Like many other analogical formations, it is formed on the analogy of *ahaṁyu, śubhaṁyu* for which there is express sanction of the suffix *yus* by Pāṇini: *ahaṁśubhayor yus.*

135. III.107.29. Monier Williams notices the word, though tracing it to lexicons only, but gives an altogether different meaning of the black species of Tulasī or holy basil. The present coinage is composed of two parts: *vana* and *la,* the possessive suffix *lac.* Literally it means that which has water. Cp. *abbhra, jaladhara. Vana* is one of the synonyms of water listed by Amara.

136. VI(ii).108.24. This is to be analysed as *varasya kalpanam. Kalpana* is *kriyā,* hence, *satkriyā.*

137. VI(ii).6.32. Literally it means that which moves in the sky.

138. III. 27.47.

139. VI(ii).113.32.

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plucking or gathering or the sound produced by the stretching of the knuckles (vide the comm. TP. *ācchoṭā aṅgulidhvanayaḥ*), *ācchoṭana*[140] to cause blossoming, *ākoṭa*[141] curved or crooked (*kuṭila*), *āmoṭana*[142] to roll (*piṇḍīkaraṇa*), *āsphoṭaka*[143] shield, *āsphoṭita*[144] strong shaking (of a piece of cloth to smoothen it by removing wrinkles), *ḍimbaka*[145] a lump, a ball; *guṭikā*[146] a small globe or ball; *guṭikāñjana*[147] collerium formed like a globe or ball, *kāṭa*[148] clash, *maṇḍaka*[149] a kind of sweetmeat, *pāṭa*[150] tearing, *peṭa*[151] or *peṭaka*[152] a basket, a box, *puṭaka*[153] or *puṭikā*[154] a bag or vessel made of leaf, and *ṭāla*[155] avoiding.

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140. VI(ii).120.2.
141. VI(ii).113.16.
142. VI(ii).71.48.
143. III.50.26. Ordinarily it denotes a specie of plants.
144. III. 106.35.
145. VI(ii).137.14.
146. VI(i).107.22.
147. VI(ii).102.57.
148. III.38.3.
149. III.108.17; IV.44.34.
150. VI(ii).122.13.
151. I.18.28.
152. V.46.8; VI(i).14.22; VI(ii).151.5; VI(ii).183.11.
153. VI(ii).17.3-4.
154. VI(i).29.90.
155. VI(ii).117.5. The word is still very much in use in India in Hindi and other languages.

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G. SCALABRINO BORSANI

THE UNIVERSALISM OF RAM MOHAN ROY

From the beginning of the 19th century a group of great reformers were fired with the idea of raising India from the crisis, which for centuries, had subjected her to an ever growing religious, moral, intellectual and civil depression, and which, together with the political disorder that culminated in the disintegration of the Moghul Empire, had held her back from big historical renovations.

This state of inertia seemed even more intolerable to the educated Indian classes when, at the end of the 18th century an illuministic fervour came to life in the West, which was to be the basis for a rapid scientific and civil progress and through which dawned the awakening of peoples.

It is known that at the time two groups faced each other in India to accomplish the mission to reform her. One favoured a purely endogenous restoration consisting in the re-organising of already existing forces: a mere return to ancient sources in which any innovation whatsoever was alien and, still worse, wich was diffident towards any eventual influence which the tumultuous evolution of western civilization could cause even if the presence and the ever growing penetrating role of the English in the subcontinent made this impossible to be ignored. The other group had recluted the most courageous spirits and fertile minds, who, while not seeking direct exogenous influence, of which was known the difficulties of integration in the very dissimilar Indian world, grasped the historic situation with new ideas and ideals, and set on radically moving away from the stagnant immobilism[1]; they

1. « The comatose India of the late eighteenth century », S. D. COLLET, *The life and letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, edited by D. K. Biswas and P. C. Ganguli, Calcutta, 1962, p. 384; also U. N. BALL, *Rammohun Roy. A study of the life, works and thoughts*, Calcutta, 1933, pp. 190-91. Knowledge of this crisis reached Italy also, and some Roy's contemporary or nearly contemporary writers did not spare criticism on this regard. GIANDOMENICO ROMAGNOSI (1761-1835) in his footnotes in *Ri-*

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aimed at adventuring into creating still inexistant forces, risking at times strong action by the two wings, the English and the Indian[2].

This second party was formed of a small minority: the initiator and animator was Ram Mohan Roy[3]. It was thanks to his pugnacious and ardent nature ever ready to accept challenge and controversy to the point of being heedless of unfavourable criticism and even of real persecution[4]; to his talent and untiring activity; to his culture[5], which embraced theology and law, and was enriched by his knowledge of oriental, classic and European languages, so that he gave vent to his philological ambitions; thanks to his careful observation of a world that was as much Indian as Western and which involved him personally in his fatherland and spiritually elsewhere in the evolution of historical moment; thanks to his lucid reasoning coming from a logic worthy of the most rigorous and modern methods of research and scientific criticism[6] (even if on theological issues certain premises led him to personal

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cerche storiche su l'India antica, vol. II, par. II, Milan 1844, pp. 1085, 1228, 1230, 1268, 1363-64, deplores the chaos in all the religions of India not devoid of monstrous, irreverent, indecent and senseless manifestations and customs, and the ignorant backwardness in which even the priestly classes, ufficially delegated to the spreading of culture, live; the Indian people appear to him as « illiterate, without press and without scientific knowledge » (*ibid.*, p. 1343), that is completely cut off from the progress that was then taking place all over Europe. Carlo Cattaneo (1801-69) in his essay *Dell'India antica e moderna* (in « Opere scelte » di C. C., edited by Delia Castelnuovo Frigessi, Torino, 1972, vol. II, pp. 494-544), is not less critical than Romagnosi: ascertaining the state of inglorious decline into which India had slipped after a period of precocious splendour, he defines opposed to the Vico's theory the « inflexible perpetuity » (*ibid.*, p. 494) of the decadent Indian situation which is in itself a denial of faith in the constant progress of the humanity of the 19th Century. The echo of the reforming work of Roy reached neither one or the other of these, although it had reached beyond the bounderies of India, and had been heard of not only in England, as was natural, but also in France from 1818; both these authors would certainly have accepted it with interest, finding (especially Cattaneo) many points of common aspirations for the modernizing of the civil, social, political institutions of peoples and their cultural renovation (see N. Bobbio, *Una filosofia militante - Studi su Carlo Cattaneo*, Torino, 1971, pp. 99-102 et al.).

2. So far as concerne Roy's cft., *Speech by Ram Mohun Roy at the meeting of the Unitarian Association held in London in his honour*, june 1831, in « The English Works of Ram Mohan Roy », edited by J. C. Ghose (EWGh), vol. II, Calcutta, 1887, p. 62).

3. Cft. A. R. Desai, *Social background of indian nationalism*, Bombay, 1946, p. 196, even if B. Majumdar attributes immediate forerunners to him (*Religious condition of India at the Beginning of the nineteenth century*, Journal of the Asiatic Society, VIII, 4, 1966, p. 245); Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 39; N. S. Bose, *The indian awakening and Bengal*, Calcutta, 1969, p. 46.

4. I. Singh, *Rammohun Roy. A biographical inquiry into making of modern India*, New York, 1958, p. 172.

5. « The most learned Indian of his generation », Preface to Part V of « The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy », edited by K. Nag and D. Burman (EWNB), Calcutta, 1948, p. III; « the most learned of the Hindoos », *A Vindication of the incarnation of the Deity as the common basis of Hindooism and Christianity against the scismatic attacks of R. Tytler by Ram Doss*, Calcutta, 1823 (EWNB, IV, Calcutta, 1947, p. 70).

6. Cft. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

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conclusions not universally acceptable)[7], that he was among those who succeeded in orienting the rebirth of India beyond the confines of her traditions[8], towards new ideas, that is to say, while respecting those values which in past centuries and over a long period of time, had given India the priviledge of being an admired civilization, towards an understanding of universal values.

Because of his initiative and foresight he was given the most flattering and merited names; he was, in fact, called « Patriarch of modern India », « Father of modern Indian renaissance »[9], pioneer « of Indian Nationalism »[10], « Pole star » of Indian awakening[11], a « versatile advancer », « an ancestor of the welfare state »[12], the « founder of the science of comparative religion » for India[13], and even « by much juster title than the missionaries the apostle of Christianity »[14], pioneer of « a real encounter between the Christian and the Hindu faith »[15], a « giant »[16], « present in history as the living bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future », as « the arch which spanned the gulf that yawned between ancient caste and modern humanity, between superstition and science, between despotism and democracy, between immoble custom and a conservative progress, between a bewildering polytheism and pure, if vague, theism »[17], « India's first dreamer of politica independence in the modern age »[18], « Father of constitutional agitation in India »[18bis], « Erasmus of India »[19],

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7. Pp. 7-9. His critical approach to Christian Scriptures was from the Christian point of view his chief weakeness. He was sympathetic with Unitarianism.

8. « By cutting the dead wood of tradition », M. K. GANDHI, *Anguish of « A hindu Youth »*, in « Collected Works » (CW), vol. 41, 1929, p. 143.

9. J. K. MAJUMDAR, *Raja Rammohun Roy and Progressive movements in India. A selection from Record (1775-1845)*, edited by J. K. M., Calcutta, 1941, p. XVIII.

10. DESAI, *op. cit.*, pp. 287, 433; J. K. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, p. V.

11. BOSE, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

12. SINGH, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

13. SINGH, *op. cit.*, p. 268; Preface to part V of EWNB, p. III.

14. J. C. L. SISMONDI, *Revue Encyclopédique*, 1821, quoted by SINGH, *op. cit.*, p. 269; S. C. SARKAR, *Rammohun as Herald of the New Age*, in CV, 1933, p. 355; « I am... anxious to support them (i.e. the Christian doctrines according his interpretation!) even at risk of my own life », cft. Extract from a letter addressed by R. M. R. to a gentleman of Baltimore, dated Calcutta, october 27, 1822 (EWGh, II, p. 62). Cft. also *Second Appeal to Christian Public in defence of « The Precepts of Jesus »*, EWGh, II, p. 235.

15. A. CAMPS, *Indian Theologians on Revelation in Hinduism*, in « Offenbarung, geistige Realität des Menschen », herausgegeben von G. Oberhammer, Wien, 1974, p. 222: « He started a line of theological enquiry and statement which has continued to develop until the present day ».

16. J. K. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, p. XVIII; R. S. SAHNI, *Rammohun's Passion for Liberty*, in CV, 1933, p. 309; GANDHI, CW, vol. 28, p. 429.

17. COLLET, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

18. COLLET, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

18bis. BALL, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

19. J. K. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, p. LIV; BALL, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 174.

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« dialectitien irresistable » [19bis], « one of Indian's great seers who age after age appeared in the arena of our history with the message of Eternal Man » [20], « a precursor, an archetype, a profet of coming humanity » [20bis].

In the light of these acknowledgements are to be seen the many sided plans of the work, and is reflected the many sided personality of this man, committed to the religious, social and civil education of his countrymen, to their political redemption, sensitive to the rich variety offered by all the positive ferment of his times, with the curiousity and unitary conscience of all authentic reformers.

J. K. Majumdar [21] analytically distinguished these plans: religious, moral, social, educational, and literary, political, juridical, economical administrative. These aspects are closely connected and are epitomized in his humanity, living and outliving with results or just simply with indications useful to the planning of modern India which was, at his time, still far off.

From childhood he rejected the anachronistic fatalism still dominant in India when all the western world is illuminated with new rays of culture, of progress, of freedom, and beeing fully aware of the conditions under which India had struggled for years, still very young he begins his crusade from the religious motive, like other reformers before him.

His family life had given him the opportunity of negatively reflecting on the rites practised by tantric Hinduism [22]. When his father sent him as a boy to Patna, the impact with Islamic worship and theology (the first more austere, the second simpler than Hindu worship and theology), sowed in his mind the seeds of anticonformism and contestation towards the hinduism of his times, even if not yet clearly definited because of his youth.

His orientation becomes clearer through the suffering caused by interior and family doubts and conflicts, through study and research into the origins of the religions of India, of Islamism and Christianity and it finds expression in the certainty that a unifying principle is at the basis of all religions; this forms the « common denominator » [23] of man's spiritual patrimony and pruned as it may be of the superstructure of superstitions, institutions, dogmas and rites which differed from

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19bis. V. JACQUEMONT, *Voyage dans l'Inde*, Tome I, Paris, 1841, p. 183 (from COLLET, *op. cit.*, p. 392).

20. The Address delivered by Rabindranath Tagore at the Preliminary Meeting of the Rammohun Roy Centenary, Calcutta, 1933 (in CV, 1933, part II, p. 3).

20bis. SINGH, *op. cit.*, p. 1; B. N. SEAL, *Rammohun Roy: The universal man*, in « The Father of Modern India. Rammohun Roy Centenary Volume » (CV), 1933, edited by S. C. Chakravarty, Calcutta, 1935, part II, p. 96.

21. J. K. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, pp. XVII-CVI.

22. SINGH, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

23. SINGH, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

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one religion to the other and are creators of exclusivism[24] it could become the basis of a Universal religion acceptable to all peoples beyond the dividing barriers of various beliefs and of manifold races.

Already in past centuries — from the 15th century on — Kabīr, Nānak and others[25] had in the same way been convinced of the equality and brotherhood of all men, which were expressed in their mystical hymns without, however, entering into all the possible implications, while Akbar had tried to create a source of opportunistic political and social conciliation from the universalism of religion.

Roy goes further: while feeling that it would be difficult, to put such a high ideal into practice, he dreams, beyond every ephemeral and dangerous barrier, of a universal peace founded on the complete religious and political freedom of each people, of each individual and upon reciprocal conscious respect in the name of a common belief in the supreme Principle creator of the universe. « Freedom » as he understood it doesn't seem to consist so much in the freedom of choice that frees from any bond whatsoever, as in the volontary bond of all men among themselves[25bis]. By virtue of his love for the divinity of the Universe he feels tied to the world, to all men: this conscience of his becomes love for man, acceptance of every man[26], openmindedness in grasping inspiration from every human event and experience to be tried by himself with the aim of leading to an ever better live.

From this stems his interest in Western civilization, his love for and trust in those who were bringing it to India[27], his spiritual partici-

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24. *The Universal Religion - Religious instructions founded on the sacred authorities*, Calcutta, 1751 S' (EWNB, II, Calcutta, 1946, p. 130); *Letter to dr. T. Ress* of London, dated 1824: « ... Catholic Faith which except a man believes faithfully, he cannot be saved » (EWGh, II, p. 629).

25. Quoted by Roy for their rejection of idolatry in *A defence of hindoo theism in reply to the attack of an advocate for idolatry at Madras*, Calcutta, 1818 (EWNB, II, p. 89); *Humble suggestions to his countrymen who believe in the one God*, Calcutta, 1823 (EWNB, II, p. 200); *Answer of a hindoo to the question « Why do you frequent a unitarian place of worship instead of the numerously attended established churches? »* (EWNB, II, p. 193).

25bis. Cft. P. Rossano, *Lordship of Christ and Religious pluralism*, in « Bulletin » of Segretariatus pro non Christianis, Città del Vaticano, 1980, XV/I, 43, p. 20 and *passim*.

26. He shows his universal tolerance in his unprejudiced attitude towards Christian and Mussulmans (*Humble suggestions*, EWNB, II, p. 200). Cft. *Relatio super declarationem de libertate religiosa*. Conclusio: « Cohabitatio pacifica in universali Familia humana hodie dari non potest sine libertate religiosa in societate » (Acta Synodalia Sacrosanti Concilii Ecumenici Vaticani II, Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1974, vol. III, p. 347.

27. L. Carpenter, *A Review of the Labour, Opinions and Character of Raja Rammohun Roy in a Discourse on occasion of his death*, delivered in Lewin's Mead Chapel (Bristol, 1833, p. 54). R. M. Roy, after a period of dislike (cft. also J. N. Farquhar, *Modern religious movements in India*, New Delhi, 1977, p. 31) declared to be indepted to English and revealed himself open to the encouragement of colonisation of Europeans in India; cft. also *Additional queries respecting the condition of India*, Calcutta, 1831 (EWNB, III, Calcutta, 1947, p. 67); *Vindication of the incarnation of*

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pation in the yearning for freedom of all peoples even if geographically distant from his [28] and above all, the unceasing effort to get the Indians to start accepting the new ideas and involve them gradually but surely in the universal march, which is also the path of man to eternity: because man mustn't succumb without fighting to the strain of time, but always will engage himself in unceasing progress using his infinite possibilities for the common good (*lokaśreyas* [28bis]) and universal harmony.

The principle of Roy's universalism is therefore based on religious thoughts, but it is sustained by an absolute faith in reason, which in the first stages of his research he considers the « surer guide » [29], also in topics of religious speculation for the promotion of intellectual and moral human faculties [30] and which, with the first passing of his youth [31] no longer guided him to a renunciation of the world but brings all his efforts together in accomplishing a collective and truly democratic work.

His research is linked into inseparable sequences; his knowledge of the relationship between God and man, between the Eternal and temporal prepares, in fact, his debut into the scene of social and political reforms; his religious speculation spreads into humanitarism, open to the human needs of justice and liberty because the « forming » of universal man, which to him is the most attractive mirage, marking the transition from utopia to living reality, exacts a totalized interpretation of society, a global revision of the existing structures and, if it is anywhere multiform, as man's being is, in India it will be harder and longer than elsewhere.

Around 1814, when he definitely settled in Calcutta, his research begins to show full results.

His belief in one only God comes to him rather than from the sacred books, from which he nevertheless seeks testimony [32] (sometimes extrapolating from them independent conclusions which were a source of contestation against him as they were not always clear and free of

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the Deity (EWNB, IV, p. 71); *Final Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of « The Precepts of Jesus »*, Calcutta, 1823 (EWGh, I, Calcutta, 1885, p. 19); *The Brahmunical Magazine or the Missionary and the Brahmun to be continued occasionally*, Nr. IV, Calcutta, 1823 (EWNB, II, p. 189).

28. Letter to Mr. Buckingham (EWGh, II, p. 631); cft. also EWGh, II, Introduction by the Editor, p. VIII; Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 130, 163, 501; Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

28bis. Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

29. *Translation of the Cena Upanishad*, Calcutta, 1823 (EWNB, II, p. 15).

30. *A defence of hindoo theism* (EWNB, II, pp. 15, 89); *The Universal Religion* (EWNB, II, p. 129); also *A second defence of monotheistical system of the Vedas in reply to an apology for the present state of hindoo worship*, Calcutta, 1817 (EWNB, II, pp. 105, 106, 109).

31. M. M. Garai, *Rammohun Samay jiban sadhana*, Calcutta, 1966, p. 29.

32. *Translation of the Ishopanishad*, Calcutta, 1816 (EWNB, II, pp. 42-3); also *A defence of hindoo theism* (EWNB, II, p. 87); *A Second defence of the monotheistical system of the Vedas* (EWNB, II, pp. 101- 104-5, 115); *An Apology for the pursuit of final beatitude, independently of brahmunical observances*, Calcutta, 1820 (EWGh, I, p. 15, etc.).

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contradiction [33]), from his observation of the universe [34] in its immense, astonishing and generous varieties which appear even richer due to scientific discovery: from something, therefore, that satisfies his sensorial experience and reason; only this one and invisible God, transcending all comprehensible power and splendour, could be the Lord and regulating Power of creation [35] spreading his spirit everywhere [36]. It is in the hope that the rational cult of the God of nature be embraced as suggested by the Veda and confirmed by the dictates of « common sense » that he places his knowledge of the Sacred Scripture of India at the disposal of his Hindu co-religionaries so as to make noticed the puerile prejudices, the gross errors and the grave misdeeds [37] that came from a lack of understanding of these Sacred Scripture.

The exposition of such deeply felt ideas take on a pedagogic significance and because of the fervour with which it is done, it becomes almost apostle-like [38]: an invitation, rather a pressing urge to his co-religionaries to throw off the scoriae which had grown and become corruptive and depraved with the passing of years; to break with a way of life, that in his eyes, was a degrading degeneration of ancient precepts and customs, from the misinterpretation of ancient allegories which in the beginning were meant to guide men towards an ever higher concept of divinity [39] and which had then fallen to immoral and sinful levels because of human ignorance and blindness.

The meaning of ancient traditions, at which the Indians must always stare [40], can acquire a new significance only by stripping them of all disguise, arbitrary in his opinion, of contaminated stratifications. Only in this way can a true ideal recovery of the exemplary values of the Indian world and their healthy integration into the present historic context be brought about.

In this way his voice broke the age old silence of Hinduism, the mechanical passing on of traditions that had grown ambiguous and

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33. P. K. Das, *Raja Rammohun Roy and the Brahmoism*, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 58-9, 65.

34. *Abridgment of the Vedant* (EWGh, I, p. 8); *A translation into english of a Sunskrit Tract inculcating the divine worship*, Calcutta, 1827 (EWGh, I, p. 96); *A defence of hindoo theism* (EWNB, II, p. 87); *A second defence of monotheistical system of the Vedas* (EWNB, II, p. 115); *The Universal Religion* (EWGh, I, pp. 96-7); *Answer of a hindoo to the question « Why do you frequent a unitarian place...? »* (EWNB, II, p. 193).

35. *Abridgment of the Vedant* (EWGh, I, p. 12); *Translation of the Ishopanishad, preface* (EWNB, II, p. 41).

36. *Abridgment of the Vedant* (EWGh, I, p. 11).

37. *Translation of the Kuth-Opunishud*, Calcutta, 1819 (EWNB, II, p. 23).

38. *Translation of the Moonduk Opunishud*, Introduction, Calcutta, 1819 (EWGh, I, p. 24).

39. *Translation of the Cena Upanishad* (EWNB, II, p. 14); *A vindication of the incarnation of the Deity* (EWNB, IV, p. 56).

40. Cft. *A defence of hindoo theism* (EWNB, II, p. 84); « In order... to vindicate my own faith and that of our forefathers, I have been endevouring, for some time past, to convince my countrymen of the true meaning of our sacred books ».

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even become denials of the truth, and it made up for the lack of an opportune, serious and competent criticism, setting fire to the fervour for research and controversy which is a symptom of vitality and of aspiring to progress and which, working a radical inversion can suppress the cult of imitation and keep off repulsion for modern ideas.

Intolerant of irrationality and unbiased in judgements his prose, while being contained within irreprehensible formal limits, sometimes has the lashing tone of a castigator of customs, which invokes the re-establishment of a morality that has been violated for years; and other times has an ironic-sarcastic rythm [41] which makes the weak points of opposers much more evident than a censor would. Both of these instruments which become also arms of defence, are sharpened both in the defence of a Hinduism « to be reconsacrated » [42], and in his personal objections to the doctrine of Christian theology.

His work is long term and spreads over a wide range whose characters are defined in the search of knowledge so as to act, in the capacity to see things with a scientific, limpid and sure eye and to present them in the sharp clearness of their essential outlines, in the intolerance of abuse, of prejudice [43], of mediocrity and pure formalism, in the use of reason against all passionate abandonment, in a lively and never dismissed interest in the sciences, in the responsible, lucid and clear defence of his own opinions, in the enjoyment of philological and historical investigation, in a unexhausting polemical art.

On the religious side these prerogatives are carried out principally in two strong points: one was the battle against idolatry, polytheism, impure rites to bring Hinduism back to what he considers to be authentic; the other, an attraction — one could almost say a vocation — to the study of Christian doctrine for the perfecting of the ideal of a « universal religion ».

He wants to « purify » both — Hinduism and Christianity — from what he thinks does not strictly keep to these sublime aspirations [44]; he would like therefore to clean Hinduism not only of the obligation of the observation of the brahmanical liturgy but also of the study of Veda, which was generally considered to be the first indispensable step to attain the knowledge of Supreme Being and then the Salvation [45].

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41. Cft. *A vindication of the incarnation of the Deity* (EWNB, IV, p. 56).

42. D. Kopf, *The Brahmo Samaj and the shaping of the modern Indian mind*, Princeton, 1979, p. 44.

43. *Speech by R. M. Roy at the meeting of the Unitarian Association* (EWGh, II, p. 625).

44. « Corruptions of the hindoo religion are not more inconsistent with truth and reason than are the doctrines taught by the Missionaries as a part of their religion » (cft. *Second Appeal to Christian Public*, EWGh, II, p. 247). These Roy's ideas soon involved him in a great polemical dispute with his ortodox compatriots. Cft. Ball, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 144.

45. *An Apology for the pursuit of final beatitude* (EWGh, I, pp. 152-53); *A second defence of the monotheistical system of the Vedas* (EWNB, II, p. 101).

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He therefore proposes a substitution with « a spiritual, pure worship of the true God » [46] because he has learnt that « to know with the knowledge of the heart the only true God... is life eternal » [47].

This « adoration in spirit » [48] which springs from a pure heart, from an intellect disposed to see man as part of the Whole [49], must triumph over the deviating cult of idols and images; it implies « only the elevation of the mind to the conviction of the existence of the Omnipresent Deity, as testified by his wise and wonderful works and continual contemplation of His power », and is « not only possible, and practicable, but even incumbent upon every rational creature » [50]. And he adds: « in this worship it is indispensably necessary to use exertions to subdue the senses » what signifies « an endeavour to direct... the conduct in such a manner as not only to prevent our own or other's ill, but to secure our own and other's goods; in fact, what is considered injurious to ourselves should be avoided towards others » [51].

The spiritual worship, which realises the beatitude, is therefore of a double nature: one consisting in mystic meditation and contemplation [52] redeeming the soul from all human passions and bringing it to its original divine perfection; the other which is carried out not in sterile ritualism but accompanying the faith in the God of all perfection through the practice of charity towards all creatures, all equal because in each one the only Divinity lives [53]: « Charity to the needy, honour to others, friendship and an equal regard to all » [54]. In this way the faith in the God's unity become through human brotherhood, bearer of harmony and peace [55] between all men.

And it is in this, documenting himself especially from the Old and New Testaments, that he ties up with Christian doctrine to which he gives merit « to have accomplished an unspeakably great improvement in the general character of society, whenever it has prevailed » [56]. But

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46. *A second defence of the monotheistical system of the Veda* (EWNB, II, p. 115)
47. L. CARPENTER, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
48. *A second defence of the monotheistical system of the Vedas* (EWNB, II, p. 115). Cft. S. SASTRI, *History of the Brahmo Samaj*, Calcutta, 1974, p. 8.
49. « Everything is in God » (*A second defence of the monotheistical system of the Vedas*, EWNB, II, p. 116).
50. *A second defence of the monotheistical system of the Vedas* (EWNB, II, pp. 113-15); *The universal religion* (EWNB, II, p. 132). Cft. « ... nec aliter veritatem sese imponere nisi vi ipsius veritatis (Declaration *Dignitatis humanae* by Second Vatican Council) ».
51. *The universal religion* (EWNB, II, p. 131).
52. *A second defence of the monotheistical system of the Vedas* (EWNB, II, pp. 113-15); *The universal religion* (EWNB, II, p. 132).
53. *Translation of a sunskrit tract on different modes of worship by a Friend of the Author*, Calcutta, 1825 (EWNB, II, p. 197-98); *The universal religion* (EWNB, II, p. 132).
54. *Humble suggestions* (EWNB, II, p. 200).
55. *Humble suggestions* (EWNB, II, pp. 200-1).
56. L. CARPENTER, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

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his rationality rejects the mystery [57] and makes of him a man who is unable to accept any humanly incomprehensible bond; the dogmas therefore appear unacceptable to him; from this springs his long and fierce controversy with the Baptist Missionaries of Śrīrāmpur, who in their turn accuse him of heathenism [58] disapproving the plan adopted by him in separating the moral doctrines of the New Testament from the mysteries and historical matters. The moral doctrines of the Gospel which he takes pains to divulge [59] seem to be sufficient on their own to salvation; intelligible to all, learned and unlearned [60], they are, in fact, something more than just a simple code of ethics; they form a perfect universal Law, « fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves and to society » [61]. The moral precepts of Jesus, the best « guide to peace and happiness » of all moral laws distincly sanctioned by all religions [62], make Jesus « the greater, haven-sent inspired Teacher of ethics of all times, the image of the perfect man, the Messenger [63] and Mediator between God and man [64], sent by God to diffuse the divine teachings, he who, not because of a Divine nature [65] (which was denied in the strong dispute widely developed in the « Appeals to Christian public », by putting forward philological suggestions uncommon in India with critical skill and sagacity [66]), but through unity of will, design, affection, operation with God is rightly called Son of God [67].

From the denial of the Divine Nature of Christ follows the dismantling of all the cardinal principles of Christian theology, which are placed under discussion so as to « purify » also this from all posthumous « corruption » [68] and to take it back to what he considers the most pure essentiality, which « represented in its genuine sense in any language

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57. *An appeal to the Christian Public* (EWNB, V, pp. 57, 69).

58. *An appeal to Christian Public* (EWNB, V, p. 64).

59. *The Precepts of Jesus. The guide to peace and happiness, extracted from the books of the New Testament ascribed to the four Evangelists*, Calcutta, 1820 (EWNB, V, pp. 3-4); *An appeal to Christian Public* (EWNB, V, p. 66).

60. *Precepts of Jesus*, Introduction (EWNB, V, p. 4).

61. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

62. *Ibid.* (EWNB, V, p. 3).

63. *Humble suggestions* (EWNB, II, p. 200); *Second appeal to Christian Public* (EWGh, II, pp. 144-45).

64. « His mission was to preach and impart divine instructions » (*Final appeal to Christian Public*, EWGh, II, pp. 306, 314, 320); *A second appeal to Christian Public* (EWGh, II, p. 162-63). He holds under different consideration the figure of Mohammed (cft. M. Carpenter, *Last Days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy*, Calcutta, 1915, p. 31).

65. *A second appeal to Christian Public* (EWGh, II, pp. 126-27, 142).

66. Cft. *A second appeal* and *Final appeal to Christian Public.*

67. *A second appeal to Christian Public* (EWGh, II, pp. 125-27).

68. L. Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 79; *Final appeal to Christian Public* (EWGh, II, pp. 252, 280); « in attempting to free the originally pure, simple and practical religion of Christ from the heathenish doctrines and absurd notions gradually introduced under the Roman power » (*Letter to dr. T. Rees*, EWGh, II, p. 629).

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whatever, must make a strong impression on every intelligent mind »[69]; although he would maintain his countrymen in the doctrines of their monotheistic religion[70], the acknowledgement of the divine authority of Christ seems to him in itself in no way inconsistent with the maintenance of that ancient hindu faith[71], because the Christian doctrine « properly inculcated, has a great tendency to improve the moral and political state of mankind than any other known religious system »[72].

He is therefore substantially tied to the great sources of philosophical-religious speculation[72bis]; and from this bond comes his social ideology and his willpower to involve himself in the field of all human problems. It seems that he feels and wants to elude the dangers involved in a static abstract preaching, and placing emphasis on charity as the instrument for reaching God[73] almost more efficacious than faith itself, he projects it onto other fields to raise the « man » at all levels.

His most audaciously reformistic demands are the most profoundly incisive on the structure of the hindu society. First of all they make him a champion of women's rights; with new, always rigorous methodologies he states problems against which no influential campaigns had ever been fought: polygamy and the rite of *satī*[74], the female infanticide, the child-marriage, the remarriage of widows. His efforts made him prevent the women from vexations of all sorts[75] to which they were subjected in gradual degradation trough the centuries[76] and to restore

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69. A letter (to Rev. H. Ware, Cambridge [USA]) on the *Prospects of Christianity and the means of promoting its reception*, Cambridge (USA), 1824 (EWNB, IV, p. 51).

70. He brought out, in fact, the inappropriatness of divulging christian doctrines among the ordinary people in India, which would, if divulged, be destined to being blindly accepted and therefore subdued to misunderstandings and rebellions (*An appeal to Christian Public*, EWNB, V, pp. 65-6).

71. Besides he mentions an agreement between Upaniṣad and Jewish and Christian sacred Scriptures in attributing « to God the perfection of those moral attributes which are considered among the human species excellent and sublime » (*An appeal to Christian Public*, EWNB, V, p. 70).

72. *On prospects of Christianity* (EWNB, IV, p. 43).

72bis. « The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth has been that I have found the doctrine of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and more adapted for the use of rational beings, than any other wich have come to my knowledge », Letter to John Digby, England (EWGh, I, p. 39); COLLET, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 109.

73. *An appeal to Christian Public* (EWNB, V, p. 63: « In this description [Matthew, XXV, 31-46] of the day of judgment it is clearly announced that the merciful Father of the universe accepts as manifestation of love towards himself, every act of charity and beneficence performed towards his creatures »).

74. The regular campaign against this custom has begun about 1818; the English Government as the hindu ortodoxy have remained silent over this matter up to that time. At november 8th, 1829, Lord Bentinck decided to prohibit by legislation the rite.

75. Also sale of girls in marriage and restraints of inheritance rights.

76. *Brief Remarks regarding modern encroachments on the ancient rights of females according to the hindoo Law of inheritance*, Calcutta, 1822 (EWGh, I, pp. 365-68); *Essay of the Rights of hindoos over ancestral property, according to the*

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them to their due rank, rights and influence in society according to the ancient sources of the indian law: therefore he advocated their rights to an equality of education so as to belie their presumed innate inferiority [77].

In order to enlighten his countrymen, to communicate to them all the progress that thought has made among the Europeans and to create among the Hindu a new common conscience [78], he must start from a very distant point. Many other delicate and enormous problems, among them the abolition of caste and the restoration of equal, social, religious and cultural rights to the untouchables [79] (a true escalation of aims) have in fact come under discussion.

The charity and the love of God [80] are the « primum movens » of his intervention; under this impulse his thought becomes constructive while his « closeness of reasoning » keeps faith with the scientific method [81].

He recognises above all with regret the ignorance and uninformation of the most part of his generation [82]: hence the necessity to cultivate and improve wisely « the understandings [83] of the native children of all classes and castes » in order to prepare and send forth into society men of cultivated and independent minds, who, by their examples, « may infuse a spirit of inquiry and a love of knowledge into all around them... and thus working on the great mass of the community, may pave the way... in the most efficient manner, for the complete triumph of true

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Law of Bengal, Calcutta, 1830 (EWGh, I, p. 385); *Abstracts of the arguments regarding the burning of widows considered as religious rite*, Calcutta, 1830 (EWNB, III, p. 131 segg.); *Translation of a conference between an advocate, and an opponent of, the practice of burning widow alive*, Calcutta, 1818 (EWNB, III, pp. 93-4).

77. *A second conference between an advocate for, and an opponent to, of the practice of burning widows alive*, Calcutta, 1820 (EWNB, III, p. 125). See BALL, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-4.

78. *Abstract of the arguments regarding the burning of widows considered as religious rite*, Calcutta, 1830 (EWNB, III, p. 136).

78bis. BALL, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 195-97.

79. « Our division into castes, which has been the source of want of unity among us » (*The Brahmunical Magazine or The Missionary and the Brahmun beeing a vindication of the hindoo religion against the attack of Christian Missionaries*, Calcutta, 1821, EWNB, IV, p. 49); *On the Prospects of Christianity* (EWNB, IV, p. 49); also DESAI, *op. cit.*, p. 288. Nevertheless, at least in public he respected the rules of the caste (S. SARKAR, *Rammohun Roy and the Break with the Past*, in « Rammohun Roy and the process of modernization in India », ed. Joshi, Delhi, 1975, p. 53).

80. *Conference between an advocate, and an opponent of, the practice of burning widow alive* (EWNB, III, p. 96).

81. See all the writings (articles and letters) concerning the hindu law of inheritance.

82. « The natives of Hindoostan, in common with those of other countries are divided into two classes, the ignorant and the enlightened. The number of the latter is, I am sorry to say, comparatively very few here » (*On the Prospects of Christianity*, EWNB, IV, p. 49).

83. From L. CARPENTER, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

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religion »[84]. The native people must be enabled « by the diffusion of knowledge to estimate by comparing one religion with another, their respective merits and advantages and to relinquish their divisions, as destructive of national union as of social enjoyment »[85].

The aim of culture seems therefore to be religion but in the meantime the idea of national unity emerges[85bis]: the individual is absorbed by the community, he must live for the community: an idea that opens new and important perspectives for the future of India but which in the light of the present situation causes the delicate relations with the rulers to be treated differently from the past.

The plan to open India to the horizons of the most modern European life is pressing in him because equality in destinies can be reached only through the equality of intelligences.

In such a frame the singular capacity of his to grasp also the social and political value of linguistic instruments is expressed. While proposing the establishment of new schools — and he himself establishes a few —, he hopes for the formation of a new, more liberal system of education which, different from the indigenous village schools, which imparted limited rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic as well as from the policy of the British Government which, in the main, favoured the academic oriental studies[86], would integrate new teachings to the old order.

He was the first to understand the importance of cultivating European science and literature[87]. He asks therefore the English Power to encourage the employment of European teachers[80]. Through investigation and mere intuition he asserts, in fact, that « the desire of educating children in the English language and in English arts is found even in the lowest classes of the community » and that « at least two thirds of the native population of Bengal would be exceedingly glad to see their children educated in English learning »[89].

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84. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

85. *On the Prospects of Christianity* (EWNB, IV, p. 49).

85bis. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 198; Ph. H. Ashby, *Modern Trends in Hinduism*, New York, 1974, p. 92.

86. He judges « vain and empty subtelies, of no practical use, the metaphysical speculations and grammatical niceties, which were imparted in the seminaries of oriental education » (*A letter on English education*, Calcutta, 1823, EWGh, I, p. 471); in *Additional queries respecting the conditions of India* (EWNB, III, p. 67), he refers to the very irregular education imparted by other seminaries still supported by the native princes and other opulent inhabitants. (See also S. Piano, *Lingua, dialetti, società*, in « Atti del Convegno della Soc. It. di Glottologia », Pisa, 8-9 dic. 1978, p. 64).

87. From L. Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

88. *A letter on English education* (EWGh, I, pp. 469-73): « Education should embrace Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and others useful science, which the natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that had raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world » (*ibid.*, p. 470).

89. *On the Prospects of Christianity* (EWNB, IV, p. 51).

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He himself, on the other hand, forms a literary language (Sādhu-Bhāṣā) [90] from the vernacular of the people of his country, and he manipulates it to interpret the thought, the science and history of Europe: realizing the benefits that a wide use of this language would have in igniting a national identity [91] he improves the Bengalī, enriching it with new words from Sanskrit and other languages and publishes a Bengalī grammar both in Bengalī and in English to help the native youth as well as the Europeans in a proper knowledge of this language.

His battles spread with the founding of newspapers in various languages [92]: he has in fact esteem for the press, on the one hand as a rational instrument in the control of truth, on the other hand as an ideal tool for the educated classes to carry on renewal at all levels, to diffuse an awareness of the new among the masses [93], to enlighten and prepare them for battle on a national scale, awakening in them the conscience of rights, the sentiment of freedom, in other words to form their political conscience. Therefore he energetically refuses all restrictions to press freedom.

Thus various aspects of knowledge are connected which, working together, could nourish new forces, capable of not being taken in surprise by events. Only education promoted in every possible way could have remedied the paralysis of intelligences and willpowers that afflicted the peoples of India. Stirred and united that these new forces may be, the fundamental principles of the transformation of the society and the freedom of man first and then of the nation would be laid not through the brusque overthrow of the existing order, but through prudent revolution [94]. This is how he sees the plan which in its logical and ideological aspects appears to be the basis of an autonomous governing of the country and of the beginning of the realisation of universalism.

His interest in religious, social and cultural questions shows, in fact, his concern for the political problem, because religion and science, when applied become political, especially in India where religion and social structures were « organically interwoven » [95].

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90. Cfr. J. K. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-80; D. ZBAVITEL, *Bengali literature*, Wiesbaden, 1976, pp. 209, 214).

91. He was called « Father of bengali prose » (J. K. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, p. LIII); about the importance of the hindu quest for identity during the « intercivilizational encounter under British dominance », see KOPF, *op. cit.*, p. 176 f.; BOSE, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-201.

92. Sambad Kaumudi, the first bengali newspaper (1821); Mirat-al-Akhbar (1822); he was also associated with the Bańgladut (1829).

93. *Memorial to the Supreme Court (Petitions against the Press Regulation)*, Calcutta, 1823 (EWGh, I, p. 34); *Contents of Sambad Cowmoody* (The moon of intelligence), J. K. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-94; *Translations of contents of Mirat-al-Akhbar*, J. K. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

94. *Petitions against the Press Regulation* (EWGh, I, pp. 435, 437; see J. K. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, p. CI).

95. DESAI, *op. cit.*, p. 282, 285. See concept of *dharma*.

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In this light the interventions that brought him into the heart of the judicial debate must be seen. There is a dignity to defend: national pride moves him to attempt to eliminate discriminations so as to gradually insert the native people not only at every level of the juridical order but in every state department [96], claiming for his countrymen the same guarantee of civil rights enjoyed by the English [97]: he intervenes, always through a careful study of the times and needs, and with a strong authority [98] (even if not always with immediately favourable results) with regards to all important points connected with the internal administration of British India [99].

Without direct contact with the masses but near to them intuitively, he actuated a political programme without ever having had an official part in politics. He preferred instead to open himself to proselythism and in a prophetic tone based on the awareness of the vital motivating force of his work [100] (even if he never wanted to see himself as a reformer [101]) he sought to prolong the work of historic development in India beyond the temporal limits of the present moment and of his lifetime.

The establishment of the Ātmīya Sabhā (1814) with religious and theological purposes, followed in Calcutta in 1828 [102] by that of Brāhmo Samāj are testimonies: the activity of this reform movement, started not as a « party » but as a « church », is defined in the theological document which is the Trust Deed: stimulated by humanitarian and national considerations, it started from the sphere of religious faith and worship, from the « promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue, strengthening the bonds of union between all religions, persuasions and creed » [103] (because the religion must help all the human activities) and inaugurated a new era (the preliminary stage in the Renaissance of India) by democratizing all social institutions and relations on the basis

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96. *Appeal to the King in Council (Petitions against the Press Regulation)* (EWGh, I, p. 459) (i.e. in all judicial, military, revenue and civil offices: see J. K. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, pp. XLV-VI); B. DE, *Political and Economic Ideas*, in « Rammohun Roy and the process of modernization in India », p. 144 segg.

97. *Remarks on settlement in India by Europeans* (EWNB, III, p. 81, 83).

98. See the *Exposition of the practical operation of judicial and revenue system in India*, London, 1832 (EWGh, II, pp. 511-97); *Additional queries respecting the condition of India* (EWNB, III, pp. 64-77).

99. In effect, he did not succeed in doing a lot for the masses (R. K. RAY, *Introduction*, in « Rammohun Roy and the process of modernization in India », p. 14; BALL, *op. cit.*, p. 209).

100. « A day will arrive when my humble endeavours will be viewed with justice, perhaps acknowledged with gratitude », *Abridgment of the Vedant* (EWGh, I, p. 5); see also J. K. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, p. CV; COLLET, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

101. *A defence of hindoo theims* (EWNB, II, p. 84); see BALL, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

102. In between these events he patronized the Unitarian Indian Association foundations.

103. *The Trust Deed of the Brahmo-Samaj*, Calcutta, january 8, 1830 (EWGh, I, pp. 492-93).

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of the fundamental unity and harmony of all religions. All these were the items of the constructive Roy's programme.

The motif of Brāhmo Samāj was the national progress, but he himself was not only a nationalist; he did not believe in the existence of a real antagonism between nationalism and internationalism [104]: his outlook and character were really cosmopolite [105]: his theme was, in fact, that which was common to European thinkers and writers of the 18th and 19th centuries [106].

The results of this multiform and wide sowing were very slow in maturing, due to the actual situation at that time; about a century later his dream of the awakening of the masses was continued in the gandhian dream of the individual svarāj premise to the hindu svarāj. But certainly in the passing of the century a new gleam had been lit in the history of mankind and of ideas, even if there was still much to be changed [107].

Hence, while L. Carpenter said at the funeral prayers that Roy's intellect « will influence in death as much as in life and perhaps still more so » [108], his germinating influence gave an impetus to further creative reformers [109] who continued to stretch their energies to the utmost for the modernisation of India.

His belief, in fact, was neither a mystical vision nor a mere theoretic conviction of the need to develop in the mind of man the « faculty of universalism » [110]; it was « a living faith in a living God » [111]: religion is no longer only the centre of individual life, as was customary in the indian milieu, but it has become the centre of universal history [112].

Even if the evaluations and criticisms given to his personal contributions by followers and critics were several these are, undoubtedly, a

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104. B. Majumdar, *History of political thought from Rammohun to Dayananda* (1821-84), vol. I: *Bengal*, Calcutta, 1934, p. 21.

105. Kopf, *op. cit.*, p. 250; R. C. Majumdar, *On Rammohan Roy*, Calcutta, 1972, pp. 47, 49.

106. See note 1.

107. Sarojini Naidu, *Tribute to Rammohun*, in CV, 1933, p. 236; Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

108. L. Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 6; also S. Radhakrishnan, *A philosophic Modernist*, in CV, 1933, part II, p. 341: « We are today able to realise the peculiar relevance of his message much more vividly than at the time of his death ». And Gandhi (CW, vol. 64, 1936-37, p. 155): « The influence of such persons as... Rammohan Roy... still persists today ». Also R. Tagore, *Rammohun, a Traveller on India's Path*, in CV, 1933, p. 233; Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

109. Cft. Gandhi, CW, vol. 5, p. 66; Cl. H. Heimsath, *Rammohun Roy and social Reform*, in « Rammohun Roy and the process of modernization in India », p. 152.

110. R. Tagore, *The Call of Truth*, in « Towards universal man », Santiniketan, 1961, p. 271 (« faculty of universality »); *The unity of education* (*ibid.*, p. 249).

111. Gandhi, CW, vol. 68, p. 57.

112. See Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

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sign of unpredictable originality at his time [113]. It can be said that through his own energy become generating power his very thought was transformed into history [114]. His religious meditations in youth were the basis on which he built, his constant faith made him use his intellectualism as a tool to study man in society so as to bridge the gaps among peoples [115].

His unconditioned trust in the indefinite human progress made him not only a protagonist of the history of his time, but an inexhaustibly modern thinker, a messenger of universal optimism to India and to the world: the hope in the triumph of the kingdom of « free man » on the principle that the service of God is above all service of man [116].

113. He was not without detractors and his own disciples later re-interpreted his original inspirations (L. JOSHI, *Preface*, in « Rammohun Roy and the process of modernization in India », p. V; KOPF, *Rammohun Roy and the Bengal Renaissance*, *ibid.*, p. 45; BOSE, *op. cit.*, p. 54; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 45, contests the « Rammohan myth », even if later he generically recognises Roy's merits and admits his universalism.

114. See p. 311, note 15; BOSE, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-68.

115. « May God render religion destructive of differences and dislike between man and man, and conducive to the peace and union of mankind », *Appeal to Christian Public* (EWGh, II, p. 97). Cft. BOSE, *op. cit.*, p. 51; this inspiration seems to-day almost as a premonition of the interreligious dialogue promoted by Second Vatican Council.

116. « The divine homage which we offer, consist solely in the practice of *Daya* or benevolence towards each other » (*Brahmunical Magazine*, Nr. IV, EWNB, II, p. 189); « ... My prayer, that a day may soon arrive, when religion shall not be a cause of difference between man and man, and when every one will regard the Precepts of Jesus as the sole Guide to Peace and Happiness » (*Second appeal to Christian Public*, EWGh, II, p. 242).

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HARTMUT SCHARFE

KAUṬALYA ON CONFLICTS WITHIN THE RULING CLASS

Every summer administrators of the Old Indian state converged on their state capital with account books in hand for the audit process. This time marked the end of the fiscal year and was a period of rest before the onset of the monsoon and the renewed agricultural activity. Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra [1] and Megasthenes' fragments [2] inform us of many interesting details of this gathering. Especially, Kauṭalya names the chief authority in the auditing process: it is the group of high state officers known as the *mahāmātra*-s (II, 7, 24). The *mahāmātra*-s are apparently not audited themselves, and there is the peculiar injunction that all decisions must be made by the complete body — and unanimously (II, 7, 25) [3]. J. C. Heesterman has therefore suggested that these *mahāmātra*-s were no mere « bureaucrats but in fact sharers or coparceners with the king in the realm » [4]. The strong emphasis on unanimity reminds Heesterman « of the traditional pañcāyat and similar gatherings, where we equally find this stress on unanimity and consensus as a corollary of the strife and factionalism characteristic of the little community » [5]. The *mahāmātra*-s' standing as coparceners in the realm could also explain the role they play in deciding an unsettled succession to the throne (V, 6, 33-36) [6]. This authority, in all probability rarely in-

1. *The Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra*, ed., and transl. R. P. KANGLE, Bombay, 1960 and 1963.
2. Megasthenes ed. F. JACOBY, *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, vol. III C, Leiden, 1958, Nr. 715, F 4; 40, 2.
3. HARTMUT SCHARFE, *Untersuchungen zur Staatsrechtslehre des Kauṭalya*, Wiesbaden, 1968, pp. 221-32 and J. C. HEESTERMAN, *Kauṭalya and the Ancient Indian State*, WZKSA 15 (1971), pp. 10-2.
4. J. C. HEESTERMAN, *Political Modernization in India*, in A. R. Davis (ed.), « Traditional Attitudes and Modern Styles in Political Leadership », Sydney, 1973, p. 43.
5. J. C. HEESTERMAN, WZKSA 15 (1971), p. 12.
6. HARTMUT SCHARFE, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 218-21 (where I could have included one more instance, i.e., the installation of King Sīhabāhu by the dignitaries described in Mahāvaṃsa, VI, 33) and J. C. HEESTERMAN, WZKSA 15 (1971), p. 19.

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voked, might be heir to the function of the Vedic *ratnin*-s, mentioned as « the givers and takers of kingdom » in the Brāhmaṇa-s [7].

If this estimate of the *mahāmātra*-s' standing is correct, it would be difficult for the king to dismiss or discipline a hostile *mahāmātra*: the *mahāmātra* might receive support from his colleagues and thus precipitate a political crisis. Kauṭalya therefore recommends covert operations instead in such instances with regard to high officers of the state in general: « But against those hostile principal officers, who cause harm to the kingdom, [and] who, being favorites or being united, cannot be suppressed openly, [the king] should employ silent punishment, taking his pleasure from duty » [8].

How this silent punishment is carried out, and how close the *mahāmātra*-s are to the royal family, becomes clear from this suggestion: « Or, a secret agent should instigate the son of a hostile *mahāmātra* thinking highly of himself, [suggesting] "You are really the king's son, kept here through fear of the enemy". When he believes that, the king should honor him in private, [saying] "Though the time for installing you as the crownprince has come, I am not anointing you through fear of the *mahāmātra*". The secret agent should induce him to murder the *mahāmātra*. When he has acted, [the king] should cause him to be executed on the spot, declaring, "He is a parricide" » [9]. For the story to be believable, the *mahāmātra* had to be close to the king and powerful enough to potentially influence the king's course of action. But the murderous son would easily be eliminated by the king's men as a dangerous and worthless criminal [10].

Occasionally two or more members of a family may be *mahāmātra*-s; if two of them are hostile to the king, the latter may exploit any existing conflict between these two: « When of two hostile *mahāmātra*-s, a son has relations with the father's wife or a father with the son's wife or a brother with that of a brother, a fight between the two started by a

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7. E.g., Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, I, 7, 3, 1. Cf. Wilhelm Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien*, Wiesbaden, 1957, p. 56 and J. C. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*, The Hague, 1957, chapter VI.

8. V, 1, 4, *rājyôpaghātinas tu vallabhāḥ saṃhatā vā ye mukyāḥ prakāśam aśakyāḥ pratiṣeddhuṃ dūṣyāḥ, teṣu dharma-rucir upāṃśu-daṇḍaṃ prayuñjīta.* The Malayāḷam commentary reads *dharma-śucir* « pure in his duty » instead of *dharma-rucir*: Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam, adhikaraṇas 4-7, ed. K. N. Ezhuthachan, Madras, 1960, p. 149, 1; this reading is not noted in Kangle's edition.

9. V, 1, 15-18, *dūṣya-mahāmātra-putram ātma-saṃbhāvitaṃ vā sattrī « rāja-putras tvam, śatru-bhayād iha nyasto 'si » ity upajapet. pratipannaṃ rājā rahasi pūjayet « prāpta-yauvarājya-kālaṃ tvāṃ mahāmātra-bhayān nâbhiṣiñcāmi » iti. taṃ sattrī mahāmātra-vadhe yojayet. vikrāntaṃ tatraîva ghātayet « pitṛ-ghātako 'yam » iti.*

10. Kangle's translation makes it appear as if the murderer would be executed in the usual legal way; that is, however, not what the text says. One reason for his speedy execution is probably the intent to prevent him from telling his side of the story. The old Malayāḷam commentary points to yet another consideration: *kollākkāl paramārtham aRiñña-ppōṇ kālāntarattil avanum śatru-v-āy varum* « If [the king] does not kill [him], he will become hostile when he at a later time learnes the truth (of how he was used) » in Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam, adhikaraṇa 4-7, pp. 152, 8-10.

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secret agent [of the king] is explained by the preceding (i.e., the assassination of one of the *mahāmātra*-s by a secret agent is blamed on the remaining *mahāmātra* and "avenged" on the spot) »[11].

If the two enemies of the king are not related, the operation assumes larger proportions: « As to suppression of two hostile [officers], however: [the king] should dispatch one hostile [officer] accompanied by a weak army and assassins to where the [other] hostile [officer] is to be suppressed, [saying]: "Go, raise an army or money in that fortified city or vasall state; or extract money from the favorite; ... or, carry out the work of a vasall or frontier officer; and whoever prevents you or does not give you help should be imprisoned". In the same way [the king] should send word to the others, "The transgression of so and so should be prevented [by you]". When he may be disputing on these occasions for strife or on account of hindrances in his work, assassins should secretly kill him by bringing down their weapon [on him]. For that offense, the others should be put down »[12].

In this last paragraph Kauṭalya's formulation is ambiguous: the words could be taken as a reference to judicial procedure. But who should be the judges? The other *mahāmātra*-s? It is more likely, that the variation is merely a matter of style and that the Malayāḷam commentary is right, when it paraphrases with *kolvitu* « he shall kill ». Whenever the king's men catch the duped man *in flagrante delicto* and kill him, the other dignitaries can or even must accept the fait accompli, if a plausible explanation is offered. The avoidance of judicial procedure points to more than a fear that the duped man could implicate the king; we recall, that the wronged party in the case of adultery within a high ranking family did not seek legal redress either. It implies that criminal acts including adultery and murder committed by a *mahāmātra* will go unpunished, if there is no political motivation for the king to make an issue of it. Only a strong king, whose *mahāmātra*-s are divided, can take action openly as king Bimbisara supposedly did[13]; frequently, he will have to resort to the means described above. This may sound outrageous, but it is only realistic to admit that this has been so throughout most, if not all, of human history. Crimes committed by the high dignitaries and by the ruler himself find their eventual retribution only through a political process: sedition, factionalism, economic unrest, and, maybe, divine intervention (or so the epics and Purāṇa-s tell us).

11. V, 1, 14, *dūṣya-mahāmātrayor vā yaḥ putraḥ pituḥ pitā vā putrasya dārān adhicarati, bhrāta vā bhrātuḥ, tayor kāpaṭika-mukhaḥ kalahaḥ pūrveṇa vyākhyātaḥ.* Note that the wronged husband does not go to court to punish the adulterer.

12. V, 1, 38-42, *ubhaya-dūṣya-pratiṣedhas tu: yatra dūṣyaḥ pratiṣeddhavyas tatra dūṣyam eva phalgu-bala-tīkṣṇa-yuktaṃ preṣayet: « gaccha, amusmin durge rāṣṭre vā sainyam utthāpaya hiraṇyaṃ vā, vallabhād vā hiraṇyam āhāraya, ... kāraya rāṣṭra-pālyam antapālyaṃ vā; yaś ca tvā pratiṣedhayen na vā te sāhāyyaṃ dadyāt, sa bandhavyaḥ syāt » iti. tathaîvêtareṣāṃ preṣayed: « amuṣyâvinayaḥ pratiṣeddhavyaḥ » iti. taṃ eteṣu kalaha-sthāneṣu karma-pratighāteṣu vā vivadamānaṃ tīkṣṇāḥ śastraṃ pātayitvā pracchannaṃ hanyuḥ. tena doṣeṇêtare niyantavyāḥ.*

13. Cullavagga ed. H. Oldenberg, reprint London, 1930, VII, 3, 5.

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We have learned from Kauṭalya's recommendations, that a state's *mahāmātra*-s come from various families, that sometimes two or more may be drawn from the same family, but that not all family members necessarily have this title. These other family members can be incited by the king to murder the hostile *mahāmātra* with the promise, that they will inherit the property [14]; the murderer, in fact, will be executed immediately by the king's men. This points to aristocratic families, comparable to the *rājan*-s of the Brāhmaṇa period, families that belong to the same class as the ruling king himself. In the Pāli canon, in Vinaya-piṭaka, III, 47, we are told that the *mahāmātra*-s were called *rājan*-s [15]. Indeed, in the enemy's country a *mahāmātra* is convincingly told that he will be king: « Or an agent appearing as an astrologer should declare to a *mahāmātra*, whose confidence he has won, that he is possessed of the marks of a king » [16]. That officer will soon start a rebellion to make the prediction come true and try to install himself on the throne, thus weakening the enemy state. For such a class of *rājan*-s in the state described by Kauṭalya there are three more indications that so far have been overlooked by modern scholars.

Arthaśāstra, II, 15, 42, deals with the grades of rice fed to animals and classes of men; as Kangle remarks in his translation, « in the best or highly polished, the rice yield is only one-fourth of the paddy ». Thus « Twelve *āḍhaka*-s of rice-grains from five *droṇa*-s of *śāli*-rice are for the feeding of a young elephant, ... seven for chiefs, six for queens and the princes, five for kings, or one *prastha* of rice-grains, unbroken and cleansed » [17]. Since there is no concern for the nourishment of foreign kings, or for past and future kings of the realm, there must be several kings in the country, if the plural used in this sentence shall be justified.

Arthaśāstra, III, 16, deals with donations; penalties are assessed for donations offered or accepted for immoral reasons. « [That applies also to] a gift in anger for injuring another and a gift made in haughtiness above that of kings » [18]. Kangle suggests in a note to his translation:

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14. V, 1, 6, *taṃ rājā dūṣya-dravyôpabhogâtisargeṇa dūṣye vikramayet* « The king should induce him to fight against the hostile [officer] by granting the use of the hostile [officer's] property ».

15. Vinayapiṭakam ed. Hermann Oldenberg, London 1879-83, vol. III, p. 47, *rājāno nāma pathavyā rājā padesarājā maṇḍalikā antarabhogikā akkhadassā mahāmattā ye vā pana chejjabhejjaṃ anusāsanti ete rājāno nāma* « "Kings" means: kings of the earth, local kings, kings' deputies, subordinate chieftains, judges, chief ministers: moreover those who administer torture and maiming are [all] called kings ». I follow closely the translation of I. B. Horner, « The Book of the Discipline », London, 1938, vol. I, p. 74. The *mahāmātra*-s wear « half-crowns » (*ardha-mukuṭa*) according to Nāṭyaśāstra, XXIII, 145 (ed. Manomohan Ghosh, Calcutta, 1967).

16. XII, 2, 19, *kārtāntikā-vyañjano vā mahāmātraṃ: « rāja-lakṣaṇa-saṃpannaṃ » kramâbhinītaṃ brūyāt.*

17. II, 15, 42, *pañca-droṇe śālīnāṃ dvādaśâḍhakaṃ taṇḍulānāṃ kalabha-bhojanam, ... saptakaṃ mukhyānāṃ, ṣaṭkaṃ devī-kumārāṇāṃ, pañcakaṃ rājñām, akhaṇḍa-pariśuddhānāṃ vā taṇḍulānāṃ prasthaḥ.*

18. III, 16, 7, *roṣa-dānaṃ para-hiṃsāyāṃ, rājñām upari darpa-dānaṃ ca.*

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« *rājñām*: the plural may suggest inclusion of members of the royal family ». He obviously noticed the problem; but his explanation is not convincing, since other members of the royal family are frequently mentioned as *yuvarāja, kumāra*, etc., but never as *rājan*. The sentence, III, 16, 7, is better taken to refer to the heads of the aristocratic families in the state. It was regarded as criminal arrogance for a commoner to surpass the generosity of such high noblemen.

In Arthaśāstra, VIII, 4, various conflicts are contrasted to test their relative importance. « Of strife among subjects and of strife among kings, strife among subjects, creating a split among subjects, invites attacks by enemies, while strife among kings brings about double food, wages and exemptions for the subjects, say the teachers. No, says Kauṭalya. Strife among subjects can be averted by winning over the leaders among the subjects or by removal of the cause of strife. And the subjects, contending among themselves, benefit [the king] by their mutual rivalry. Strife among kings, on the other hand, leads to harassment and destruction of the subjects and can be overcome [only] with double exertion »[19]. The commentary Nayacandrikā[20] explains the compound *rāja-vivādas* with *rājñor vivādas* « strife between two kings », whereas Kangle in his translation renders it as « strife in the royal family » and remarks « *rājavivādaḥ* is strife among members of the royal family for power ». I find it unlikely that members of the royal family could rival the king with the grant of wages, exemptions etc., unless the king has already lost his grip on the government. We should rather think of the rivalry of powerful noblemen for regional influence or for a role in the central government. Also, it is hard to see, how strife in the royal family could be regarded as beneficial to the king on any account, as the teachers supposedly say. The rivalry between powerful nobles, on the other hand, may convey benefits to the people in the short run and may even strengthen the king's hand in a way; but it is undesirable in the long run nevertheless, because it undermines the basis of the state: a well established ruling class.

This establishment the king must protect by political means; if his friendly efforts fail, and since judicial redress is not available, the king must resort to radical and covert operations, i.e., assassination. It is essential, not only that these actions are conducted in secret, but also that they remain secret, as it were, forever. Few manuscripts of the Arthaśāstra have reached us to reveal the ugly truth, alas.

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19. VIII, 4, 16-20, *prakṛti-rāja-vivādayoḥ prakṛti-vivādaḥ prakṛtīnāṃ bhedakaḥ parâbhiyogān āvahati, rāja-vivādas tu prakṛtīnaṃ dviguṇa-bhakta-vetana-parihārakaro bhavati ity ācāryāḥ. nêti Kauṭalyaḥ. śakyaḥ prakṛti-vivādaḥ prakṛti-mukhyôpagraheṇa kalaha-sthānâpanayanena vā vārayitum. vivadamānās tu prakṛtayaḥ paraspara-saṃgharṣenôpakurvanti. rāja-vivādas tu pīḍanôcchedanāya prakṛtīnāṃ dviguṇavyāyāma-sādhya iti.*

20. *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*, ed. J. Jolly and R. Schmidt, vol. II. Notes, with the commentary Nayacandrikā, Lahore, 1924, pp. 96, 18.

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ALEX WAYMAN

SIMILES FOR THE FOUR ELEMENTS FROM BUDDHIST LITERATURE

The similes and other figures of speech employed in Indian literature are very rich, and my experience with them so far is that they vary intriguingly in a way that seems to characterize the difference in spirit, say, of the *Atharva-veda* [1] from the Epic literature [2]. Even restricting the topic to Buddhist sources the materials are endless. However, the data is definitely manageable when one restricts oneself to such a topic as the four elements (earth, etc.), and to a subsection of Indian literature, as here, Buddhism. Even so, it is not possible to treat such a topic in isolation, and I do compare with some other literature.

It turns out that a treatment of the elements by passages that contain all four similes in one place is more useful than simply collecting instances of isolated element similes, although some of these are admittedly appealing. But, then, how translate the words for the four? We note that Mrs. Rhys Davids, introducing her valuable essay, « Similes in the Nikāyas » [3], observed that there are many similes in Pāli literature for the four elements. She counted 32 for « air (with clouds and space) », but this is hardly right. One would not translate P. *vāta*, S. *vāyu*, as « air » if aware of the Indian symbol systems, because as Sharma explains under *vāyu*, « The wind primarily symbolizes speed » [4]. That is why I always render the set of four: fire, wind, water, earth. She wrongly included « clouds » which are generally placed in the « intermediate space » (*antarikṣa*). Besides her « space » is usually the Indian fifth element, S. *ākāśa*. Also, Mrs. Rhys David's count for fire (with such Pāli words as *aggi* and *pāvaka*) is set at 58 by including the sun (P.

1. Cf. N. J. Shende, *Kavi and Kāvya in the Atharvaveda*, Poona, 1967.
2. Cf. Ram Karan Sharma, *Elements of Poetry in the Mahābhārata*, Berkeley, 1964.
3. « Journal of the Pali Text Society », 1906-7 (London, 1907), pp. 52-151.
4. Sharma, *Elements*, p. 48.

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ādicca), but this is not right either, because the Epic and other similes for fire take this element as brilliant but not illuminating, while the sun illumines. This observation is consistent with the Buddhist work *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra* which includes 22 similes for generating the mind of enlightenment, with separate similes of « fire » and « sun »[5]. Likewise, similes for « ocean » and « river » should be kept separate from « water ».

Of course, the standard word for « simile » is *upamā*. Mrs. Rhys Davids points out that the similes are usually introduced by the words *yathā* and *iva* (also Pāli *va*), and that there is such an introductory word for illustrative tale as *seyyathāpi* (« just as »). Besides, in Sanskrit among final members there is preeminently the adverb-forming suffix *-vat*. Quite frequent as final members are *sadṛśa* and *upama*. The word *ābhā* can be used as « like » in the sense of « resembling », and *sama* as « like » in the sense of « identical ». The word *udāharaṇa* is often used for the illustration member of the Indian syllogism. There are doubtless other ways (e.g. *prakāśa* and *saṃnibha*) of representing similes and similitude.

A passage showing that to be « like » is not to be identical, is found in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol. I, 42, which poses a riddle: « What is bathing where no waters be? » (*kiṃ sināṇam anodakaṃ*), with the answer: « Austerity as well as the pure life is bathing where no waters be » (*tapo ca brahmacariyaṃ ca, taṃ sināṇam anodakaṃ*).

Now I shall pass to the sets of the four elements from contexts containing more data that permits further consideration. So far I have found four such sets: 1) in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, Book of Nines, of the Pāli canon; 2) in a Mahāyāna scripture called *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*; 3) in the *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra* of the Mahāyāna as cited in a Buddhist tantra commentary; 4) in a commentarial gloss on the Buddhist Tantra *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti*. Of these four, I shall discuss the first two together, and the second two together. Therefore, I shall discuss the four as two pairs of possible consistency or inconsistency.

1) The passage in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (IV, 374-375), the *Sīhanāda-sutta*, relates that once Sāriputta had set off on a journey without asking pardon of a fellow in the pure life for an imagined offence. The Buddha, hearing the complaint sent messengers to Sāriputta for him to return. In the presence of the Buddha, Sāriputta explained:

> Revered Sir! Just as (*seyyathāpi*) they cast upon the earth the clean as well as the unclean, cast dung as well as urine, cast spittle, rotten material and blood; and the earth thereby is not troubled, vexed, or disgusted; just so, revered sir, I abide with mind like earth (*pathavīsamena*), expanded, become great, boundless, without hostility, without sorrow. Indeed, revered sir, he in whom mind-

5. I studied these 22 similes in a paper, « The *samādhi* lists of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* and the *Mahāvyutpatti* », forthcoming.

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fulness of his body's happenings is not present, might start a journey without asking pardon of a fellow in the pure life whom he had offended.

The sequel turns to water, « Just as in water they wash the clean as well as the unclean » and so on as before, down to « with mind like water (*āposamena*) », and the remainder of the paragraph the same. Then, « Just as fire burns the clean », etc. as previously, to « with mind like fire (*tejosamena*) », and so on. Then, « Just as the wind blows upon the clean », etc. and « with mind like wind (*vāyosamena*), and so on. The same passage is in the *Majjhima-nikāya* (I, 423-4). The comparison seems to be that Sāriputta's mind is like earth and water in that it is not troubled, vexed, or disgusted by anything happening by virtue of outside agencies; and is like fire and wind in that it is not troubled, vexed, or disgusted by impingement upon others. And since the comparison extends to « with mind expanded », etc. this attribution of mind to the four elements is reminiscent of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII.6.1, including: « The earth as though contemplates » (*dhyāyatīva pṛthivī*) and « The waters as though contemplate (*dhyāyantīvāpoḥ*). And « Therefore, those in this world among men who attain greatness (*mahattvaṃ prāpnuvanti*) seem to have a portion of contemplation's reward ».

2) The second set, from the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka-sūtra*, runs as follows [6]: « This eye is without an owner (**niḥsvāmika*) like the earth. This eye is selfless (*nairātmya*) like water. This eye is non-sentient (*niḥsattva*) like fire. This eye is soulless (*nirjīva*) like wind ». The last three of these give standard terms for the well-known Buddhist position of « non-self ». Indeed, the Tibetan-Sanskrit Buddhist Dictionary *Mahāvyutpatti* has these three in the given order as nos. 155, 156, and 157. Only the reconstructed term **niḥsvāmika* is absent from the standard list of non-self terms, but on that very account we may suppose there was a calculated decision to include it here. There is a Sanskrit term *bhū-svāmin*, meaning a « landlord » or « landholder ». Perhaps the unknown author or authors of that Buddhist *sūtra* had in mind the very attributions of the Sāriputta passage discussed above. May I be permitted an interpretation: forms impinge upon the eye without asking the permission of an owner (*svāmin*), comparable to the various things, clean and unclean that are cast upon the earth. Then this eye is selfless, since it is not independent of the visible forms, just as water is not independent (i.e. cannot be as it will) when clean and dirty things are washed in it [7]. This eye is non-sentient because the external real things

6. Taken from the Tibetan in the Japanese photo edition of the Peking Kanjur-Tanjur (PTT), Vol. 22, p. 246-5.

7. The teacher Asaṅga helped me out in this interpretation, because he glossed *anātman* as « non-independence » (*asvātantrya*) in his *Śrāvakabhūmi*. I treated his gloss in a paper, « The Sixteen Aspects of the four Noble Truths and their Opposites », delivered at Nalanda Mahavihara, Bihar, India, in January 1980.

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do not exist in it, just as creatures clean or dirty cannot live in fire. This eye is soulless because it does not have a fixed center of life, i.e. the content is constantly changing, just as the wind which lacks a life at a fixed point because the wind is constantly shifting, blowing about the clean and the dirty, and so on. According to such considerations, these Buddhist terms of « non-self » and the others were applied to what man usually takes as his « self ». Sāriputta's mind had become great concomitant with being unaware of what is ordinarily taken as « self ». Thus, he was exemplifying the Buddhist practice of « non-self ». It does appear that the first two groups of four elements are mutually consistent.

3) The third set, cited from the *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*, is as follows[8]: Mind is like earth, when carrying all burdens whether virtuous or sinful, and without increase or decrease. The mind is like water when it washes away dirt and uncleanliness, fosters people, and dispels defilement and distress. The mind is like fire when it burns up defilements, while not illuminating anywhere with a great lamp's glow. Mind is like wind, when without location and without support it pervades the three times (= past, present, and future) with the perfume of morality and hearing. Mind is like space when eliminating views it is pure; and while pervading everything it does not follow the Māras (the tempters).

4) The fourth set is from Smṛtijñānakīrti's commentary on *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti*, Chap. 10: « Inquiry-investigation » (*vitarka-vicāra*) is like fire. Unsteadiness is like wind. Pleasure-rapture (*sukha-prīti*) is like water. Firmness is like earth »[9]. The third set, from the *Ratnakūṭa*, emphasizes the benevolent, compassionate, and moral mind. The fourth set (Smṛti's) is based on Buddhist meditation theory.

Before assessing consistency of the pair, we must clarify Smṛti's technical remarks. Thus, « inquiry-investigation » is standard terminology for a feature of the First Dhyāna in what the Buddhist call « realm of form » (*rūpadhātu*) when the practitioner has succeeded in transcending the « realm of desire » (*kāmadhātu*). Unsteadiness refers to the meditative object in the First Dhyāna even though there is a « single-area of mind », required for *samādhi*. Pleasure-rapture also characterizes the First Dhyāna. Firmness might refer to what is called the first base of Mastery, prevalent in the First Dhyāna[10].

Taking them individually, the mind that is like earth, carrying all burdens, without increase or decrease, seems consistent with the medi-

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8. This was cited in Vajravarman's commentary on *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra*, PTT, Vol. 76, p. 187-4-5.

9. This is the commentary *Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti-lakṣa-bhāṣya*, PTT, Vol. 75, p. 53-4-8: *rtog dpyod me daṅ 'dra / yaṅ na gYo ba rluṅ daṅ 'dra / dga' bde chu / brtan pa sa.*

10. Cf. Alex Wayman, *Aspects of Meditation in the Theravāda and Mahīśāsaka*, in « Studia Missionalia », Vol. 25, 1976, p. 14 and p. 25.

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tative firmness of the First Dhyāna. It is somewhat far-fetched to take the sense of water as fostering people, eliminating their distress, to be at all consistent with the pleasure-rapture member. The simile of fire burning up defilements and glowing but not illuminating is consistent with the « inquiry-investigation » only if one knows more about Buddhist teaching of this member as equivalent to « insight » (*prajñā*) which is credited with eliminating defilements, especially when metaphorically called a fire [11]. This non-illumination character of the glowing fire is confirmed by another passage from the canon, *Dīgha-nikāya*, XXXI « The Sigāla Homily », as translated by the two Rhys Davids: « Whoso is virtuous and intelligent, shines like a fire that blazes [on a hill] », with commentarial gloss cited, « on a hill at night ». Again, there appears no obvious way to make the mind's like wind in pervading the three times, etc. consistent with the unsteadiness of the meditative object in the First Dhyāna. Therefore, two of the respective similes (for earth and fire) are apparently consistent, while two (for water and wind) are apparently inconsistent. The fifth element, space (*ākāśa*), is not my concern here [12].

The Epic also, as cited in Sharma's work, speaks of the great all-pervading wind. It mentions also the mind's perturbation by way of the wind simile. The simile of water as eliminating distress is also in the Epic, as is the « fire of knowledge »[13].

Now that the individual characters of the element similes in Buddhist texts have been somewhat defined with the help of those groups of four-element similes, it is well to show some other directions by individual similes.

A passage that takes earth and water in a somewhat adversative sense is in the *Saṃyutta-nikaya*, Khandhavagga (III, 55): « Monks, just as is the element of earth, so should be considered the four stations of perception (*viññaṇaṭṭhiti*) [14]. Monks, just as is the water element, so should be considered the lust for delights (*nandirāga*) ».

The wind has a few spirited comparisons. Thus, *Saṃyutta-nikāya, Saḷāyatanavagga* (IV, 218): « Monks, just as different kinds of winds

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11. That is, the « inquiry » is a « coarse insight » and the « investigation » a « subtle insight » according to Asaṅga's *Viniścaya-saṃgrahanī*; cf. ALEX WAYMAN, *Calming the Mind and Discerning the Real*, New York, 1978, pp. 46-7; and for « insight » as a fire, WAYMAN, *Calming*, p. 405. Besides, in the theory of the Buddhist Dhyāna-s, the four elements as « totalities » (P. *kasiṇa*, S. *kṛtsna*) are assigned to the Second Dhyāna (Cf. WAYMAN, *Aspects of Meditation*, 5-8 and 25). Thus, Smṛti may have hinted at this « inquiry-investigation » member of the First Dhyāna as leading to the « element-totality » of fire in the Second Dhyāna.

12. Ancient buddhism ordinarly does not deal with a fifth element, the *ākāśa*, but in the Mahāyāna period, both in scriptures as here the *Ratnakūṭa* and in Buddhist Tantras the fifth one is frequently found in the relevant contexts.

13. SHARMA, *Elements*, pp. 50, 54, 31.

14. For the four stations, cf. A. WAYMAN, *Secret of the Heart Sutra*, in « Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems », L. Lancaster, ed. Berkeley, 1977, p. 143, where « perception » (S. *vijñāna*) is called « traveler at the crossroads ».

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blow in space, eastern winds blow (and so the other directional winds), dusty winds blow (and also other kinds) — so also, monks, different kinds of feelings arise in the body, pleasurable feelings, painful feelings, and neutral feelings ». This is clearly related to Buddhist *karma* theory. So *Dharmasamuccaya*, Chap. XV, Pāpavarga, v. 53: « By reason of pleasure and pain, we wander in the ravine of phenomenal life, like waves of the ocean tossed about by the wind of *karma* » (*te vayaṃ sukhaduḥkhabhyāṃ bhrāmyāmo bhavasaṃkaṭe / karmavāyusamudbhrāntāḥ samudrasya yathormayaḥ*) [15]. The *Sutta-nipāta* has the simile, « Like wind not caught within a net » (P. *vāto 'va jālamhi asajjamāno*) [16]. The *Mahāvastu*, vol. III, has this simile four times, e.g. the Buddha proclaims: « Alone I the *muni* wander... like a lion not frightened among sounds, like the wind not caught in nets (*vātaṃ va jāleṣu asajyamānam*) [17].

The fire comparisons involve some of the most famous passages of Buddhism. Probably best known is the third chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (Scripture of the White Lotus of Illustrious Dharma), the *Upamā-parivarta*, containing the parable of the burning house, and emphasizing the expedient means (S. *upāya-kauśalya*) for enticing persons out of that house, which is of course the phenomenal world. That is a work of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Early Buddhism has the Fire Sermon, teaching that all constituents of the world are on fire, including: « All things, O monks, are on fire... The eye, O monks, is on fire... » [18]. A work intermediate between early Buddhism and Mahāyāna, the *Dharmasamuccaya*, Chapter VII, Kāmajugupsāvarga, has this (v. 134): « Just as someone through fear of fire uses that very fire, so also one confused by sense objects takes recourse to the sense objects » (*yathā vahnibhayāt kaścid vahnim evopasevate / tathā viṣayasaṃmūḍho viṣayān upasevate*) [19]. An earlier verse from the same work (*Dharmasamuccaya*, Chap. V, 200) has consistent sentiments: « For by this path have departed the gods, by the hundreds and by the thousands, burnt up by the fire of death, like the fuel which is the sense objects » (*anena hi pathā devāḥ*

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15. *Dharma-Samuccaya*, 3e Partie, éd. et tr. par Lin Li-kouang, révision de A. Bareau, J. W. de Jong, et P. Demiéville (Paris, 1973), p. 114. The expression « wind of karma » also occurs in the embryological scripture of the *Ratnakūṭa* collection called *Āryāyuṣman-nandagarbhāvakrāntinirdeśa-sūtra*, both smaller and larger versions, PTT, Vol. 23, p. 98 and p. 106.

16. From *Suttanipāta*, ed. by Bhikṣu Dharmaratna, Bānaras City, Khaggavisāṇasuttaṃ, verse 37.

17. *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, Vol. III, ed. by R. Basak, Calcutta, 1968, p. 169.

18. Cf. H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1947, pp. 351-53, tr. of « The Fire-Sermon » from the *Mahāvagga* of the Pāli Vinaya; and W. Rahula, *What the Buddha taught*, Bedford, 1972 reprint, pp. 95-7, for the equivalent from the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*.

19. *Dharma-Samuccaya*, 2e partie (same editors as in n. 15, above), Paris, 1969, p. 168; in the same volume, Chap. X, v. 34, speaks of the « fire of sense objects » (*viṣayānala*).

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śataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ / gatāḥ kālāgninirdagdhā viṣayendhanasaṃnibhāḥ) [20].

Besides, there is the « hot seat » kind of fire. So in the *Mahāvastu*'s version of the *Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra* (Scripture Setting into Motion the Wheel of the Dharma), the « fortunate band of five » had made a resolution not to greet Gautama (who had recently become enlightened) as he approached. But: « As the Bhagavat was coming they did not rejoice in their respective seats. Just like birds on a nest or on the branch of a tree being scorched by a fire below would fly up, just so, as he was coming in the distance, finding no pleasure in their individual seats, the « fortunate band of five » got right up and went forward to greet the Bhagavat » (*Bhagavāṃ cāgacchati te ca svakasthāneṣu na ramanti. sayyathāpi nāma śakuntā nīḍagatā vā vṛkṣaśākhagātā vā heṣṭato agninā saṃtāpiyamānā utpatetsuḥ, evam eva pañcakā bhadravargīyā dūrato evāgacchantasya svakasvakeṣv āsaneṣu ratim avindantā Bhagavantam pratyutthāyetsuḥ pratyudgametsuḥ*) [21]. This reminds us of Indra, who feels his seat getting « warm » if an ascetic by austerities is threatening to replace him on the seat.

The preceding — to use a hackneyed phrase — is but a « drop in the bucket », because the many Buddhist scriptures and commentarial literature could doubtless supply many more of relevant passages. Enough has been cited, I believe, to furnish an idea of how and why these similes are employed. It does seem that the similes do enable us to get the point, and perhaps that is why they appear capable of forming a bridge between one kind of literature and another.

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20. *Dharma-Samuccaya*, 1ère partie, éd. et tr. par Lin Li-kouang, Paris, 1946, p. 148; in the same volume, Chap. V, v. 151, speaks of the « fire of death » (*kālāgni*).

21. As presented in *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Reader*, ed. by Franklin Edgerton, New Haven, 1953, p. 17.

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FRIEDRICH WILHELM

THE QUOTATIONS IN THE KĀMASŪTRA OF VĀTSYĀYANA

According to *Kāmasūtra* I, 1[1] the author, Vātsyāyana, composed this text on the basis of older works on this subject. The tradition is given there as follows.

Prajāpati (the creator) composed a treatise on the trivarga (the three aims of life) in 100,000 *adhyāyas* (chapters). Later on the three aims of life were treated separately by different authors, i.e. *dharma* (legal and moral duty) by Manu Svāyaṃbhuva, *artha* (political and material profit) by Bṛhaspati and *kāma* (love and sensual desire) by Nandin, the servant of Mahādeva (= Śiva). Only the length of Nandin's work is given: 1,000 chapters. This part was further abridged by Auddālaki Śvetaketu in 500 chapters and once more by Bābhravya Pāñcāla in 150 chapters. Bābhravya's version consisted of seven *adhikaraṇas* (main section), the titles of which are identical with those of the seven main sections in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, i.e. *sādhāraṇa-sāṃprayogika-*
1 2
kanyāsaṃprayuktaka-bhāryādhikārika-pāradārika-vaiśika-aupaniṣadika).
3 4 5 6 7
The sixth part of Bābhravya's version (On courtesans) was remade by Dattaka (at the request of the courtesans of Pāṭaliputra). In this connection the other six parts were recomposed by different authors: Cārāyaṇa (1), Suvarṇanābha (2), Ghoṭakamukha (3), Gonardīya (4), Goṇikāputra (5) and Kucumāra (7).

However, as Dattaka and the others treated only parts of the subject and Bābhravya's work is difficult to study on account of its length Vātsyāyana reduced the whole to a concise manual[2].

We occasionally find in Sanskrit literature that a treatise claims divine origin to enhance its reputation. In *Mahābhārata* XII, 59 (Critical

1. Ed. by Madhavacharya, Kalyan-Bombay, 1935.
2. This tradition is repeated in *āryā* stanzas in the *Kandarpacūḍāmaṇi* of Vīrabhadradeva (Introduction 17-29).

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Edition) another legendary tradition about the three aims of life (and *mokṣa*, redemption as the fourth) is given.

We insert here a juxtaposition of the *Kāmasūtra* and *Mahābhārata* traditions:

Kāmasūtra I, 1
Prajāpati (100,000 chapters)
(three aims)

dharma	*artha*	*kāma* (1,000 ch.)
(Manu Svāyaṃbhuva)	(Bṛhaspati)	(Nandin)
		Auddālaki Śvetaketu (500 ch.)
		Bābhravya (150 ch.), in seven main sections, treated separately

6	1	2	3	by	4
Dattaka	Cārāyaṇa	Suvarṇanābha	Ghoṭakamukha		Gonardīya
		5	7		
		Goṇikāputra	Kucumāra		

the whole condensed by:
Vātsyāyana (36 ch. in seven main sections)

Mahābhārata XII, 59, 28-30 and 86-91 (Critical Edition)
Svayaṃbhū, viz. Brahman (100,000 chapters)
(three aims and redemption)
Śiva Viśālākṣa (10,000 ch., Vaiśālākṣam)
Indra (5,000 ch., Bāhudantakam)
Bṛhaspati (3,000 ch., Bārhaspatyam)
Kāvya, viz. Uśanas (1,000 ch.).

We see that a legendary original of 100,000 chapters (*adhyāyas*) is claimed by both texts, but according to the *Kāmasūtra* tradition this work of 100,000 chapters dealt with the three aims of life which were treated separately afterwards, whereas in the *Mahābhārata* tradition (XII, 59, 30 and 85) redemption (*mokṣa*) too belonged to the contents of this legendary work. However, this work is there called *daṇḍanīti* (*Mahābhārata* XII, 59, 78 f.), and the enumerated topics refer in most cases to political problems, so that Kane[3] and others interpret this report as the tradition of political science. Actually Bṛhaspati is elsewhere known as political teacher (e.g. in the *Kāmasūtra*) and in the list of experts on *rājadharma* (king's duty) in *Mahābhārata* XI, 58, 1 f. we find the following names: Bṛhaspati, Viśālākṣa, Kāvya, Indra, Prācetasa Manu, Bharadvāja and Gauraśiras.

If we compare the tradition in *Kāmasūtra* I, 1 with that in *Mahābhārata* XII, 59 we find that both presuppose an opus magnum composed by the Creator (Prajāpati or Svayaṃbhū). Other Sanskrit treatises

3. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, Poona, 1946, p. 4.

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too claim divine origin, e.g. the god Brahman is regarded as the founder of the drama (*nāṭya*); a *dharmasūtra* is attributed to Viṣṇu, etc.

We might argue that these texts really existed but were attributed to gods. However, the length of 100,000 chapters is incredible, and even a length of 1,000 chapters is questionable. Vātsyāyana, the author of the *Kāmasūtra*, is not quoting Prajāpati or the servant of Śiva (Nandin) but only Auddālaki and the later authorities. None of these texts is extant any more and that's why we are not able to verify the authenticity of the quotations [4]. Bābhravya Pāñcāla was the founder of a *kāma* school (Bābhraviyāḥ) which Vātsyāyana quotes several times.

According to *Kāmasūtra* I, 3 Pāñcāla (viz. Bābhravya) established the 64 (i.e. 8 times 8) ways of love (Pāñcālī catuḥṣaṣṭiḥ) which are distinguished from the 64 arts (*kalāḥ*). Vātsyāyana accepts the term « Sixty-four » only as a figurative term because the number of the ways of love varies. For Vātsyāyana it is a technical term like the « seven-leaved » tree (*saptaparṇa*) which has more than seven leaves (II, 8).

The individual authors are quoted in those main sections for which they are said to be specialists. Dattaka plays a special role because he is mentioned first in Vātsyāyana's enumeration but is quoted as expert on courtesans (the sixth main section), whereas the other individual authors are enumerated in the order of the main sections. Only in a few cases are they mentioned in an other context, and one of them, the specialist of the seventh main section, is not quoted (Kucumāra) [5]. In most cases the opinions of the individual teachers are quoted without the refutation of Vātsyāyana, e.g. Ghoṭakamukha in the 3rd, Gonardīya in the 4th main section. Such quotations are interpreted by the commentary Jayamaṅgalā: *gonardīya iti pūjārtham adhikaraṇe 'dhikṛtatvāt* (Gonardīya honourably because he is the authority for this *adhikaraṇa*) IV, 32. This is different from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, where in most cases the views of the individual authors are contradicted by another individual author and/or by Kauṭilya.

In the *Arthaśāstra* the individual authors discuss with each other in a stereotyped order. Such debates are no verbatim quotations from extant works. However, they may represent authentic views though their style must be fictitious. In the *Kāmasūtra* stylistic adaptations are less evident [6]. Here the individual authors occur in a stereotyped form only once without refuting each other, viz. *Kāmasūtra* I, 5 treats three types of women (*nāyikās*) to be resorted to; then Goṇikāputra mentions

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4. There are only few data on Vātsyāyana's predecessors in Sanskrit literature. These references were compiled by Richard Schmidt, Beiträge zur indischen Erotik, Berlin, 1922³, § 1 sub voce and by S. C. Upadhyaya, *Kama Sutra of Vatsyayana* (Complete Translation), Bombay, 1961, pp. 47 ff.

5. His name occurs only in I, 3 in the 21st of the 64 arts (*kalāḥ*): *kaucumārāśca yogāḥ*, the tricks of Kucumāra.

6. Though they exist, e.g. in V, 6 Goṇikāputra refers directly to the quotation of the teachers: « *te hi...* ».

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a fourth type, and ultimately Cārāyaṇa a fifth, Suvarṇanābha a sixth, Ghoṭakamukha a seventh and Gonardīya an eighth type.

The quotations of the teachers (*ity ācāryāḥ*) have a purport similar to that in the *Arthaśāstra*. These quotations render the views of a varying number of specialists, as do the opinions cited as *ity eke* (some say). Here it goes without saying that the stylistic form must be by the author Vātsyāyana, but there is no clue that their contents are fictious too. Vātsyāyana refers to opinions which were really represented or to possible objections (to the latter clearly in the form *tatra etat syāt* / it may be objected here [II, 6]). Vātsyāyana expresses in his own words also the views of special groups (materialists, fatalists, and political thinkers [I, 2]), a local custom (*deśasātmyam*, II, 16) or a general opinion (*prāyovadaḥ*, III, 28; V, 40, 43). Self-quotations of Vātsyāyana (i.e. isolated statements without a debate) emphasize Vātsyāyana's standpoint.

The *Kāmasūtra* is far less polemical than the *Arthaśāstra*, where most views are refuted[7]. In the Kāmasūtra a greater number of quotations remain undisputed or are only slightly modified. A by-effect of quoting in both texts is to variegate the *bhāṣya* style. The debates in the *Kāmasūtra* are less elaborate, as the *Kāmasūtra* is more concise and closer to the *sūtra* than to the *śāstra* style.

7. See Appendix II. The relations between Kauṭilya and Vātsyāyana were discussed by Friedrich Wilhelm, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Kāmasūtra and Arthaśāstra*, in: « Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft », Band 116, 2 (1966), pp. 291-310. On the roll of the quotations in the *Arthaśāstra* see Friedrich Wilhelm, *Politische Polemiken im Staatslehrbuch des Kauṭilya*, Wiesbaden, 1960 (further references in both publications).

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THE QUOTATIONS IN THE KĀMASŪTRA OF VĀTSYĀYANA

Main sections (adhikaraṇa)	*Topics (prakaraṇa)*	*Chapters (adhyāya)*	*The teachers (ācāryāḥ)*	*Schools*	*Individual authors*	*Other references*	*Self-quotations of Vātsyāyana without debate*
I	1	(1)				to V.'s predecessors laukāyatikāḥ + V. (materialists) Kālakāraṇikāḥ + V. (fatalists) and arthacintakāḥ + V. (political thinkers)	
sādhāraṇākhyam (General)	2	(2)	once + V.				
	3	(3)	once + V.		(Kucumāra) // (Pāñcāla) Cārāyaṇa Goṇikāputra // Cārāyaṇa + Suvarṇanābha + Ghoṭakamukha + Gonardīya + V. + eke (some)		
	4	(4)					
	5	(5)		Bābhravīyāḥ + Goṇikāputra			once
II sāmprayogikam (on sexual union)	6	(1)	once	Bābhravīyāḥ	Auddālaki (twice) Bābhravya (śloka according to Commentary)	three times: tatra etat syāt (it may be objected here) + tacca na (this is not the case) prāyovādaḥ (general opinion)	once

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Main sections (adhikaraṇa)	*Topics (prakaraṇa)*	*Chapters (adhyāya)*	*The teachers (ācāryāḥ)*	*Schools*	*Individual authors*	*Other references*	*Self-quotations of Vātsyāyana without debate*
	7	(1)				tantrajñāḥ (experts of kāmatantra) twice in stanzas	
	8	(2)		Bābhravīyāḥ + Suvarṇanābha	(Pāñcāla)	ity ācaṣṭe (they call) + ācāryavādaḥ (the opinion of the teachers) + eke (some) + Bābhravīyāḥ+V.// eke (some) + V.	
	9	(3)					twice
	10	(4)	once + V.		Suvarṇanābha		
	11	(5)					
	12	(5)			Suvarṇanābha		
	13	(6)		Bābhravīyāḥ + Sauvarṇanābhāḥ (the different positions called...)	Suvarṇanābha + V.		
	14	(6)					
	15	(7)					
	16	(7)				deśasātmyam etad (this is a local custom) + V.	
	17	(8)					
	18	(8)					

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Main sections (adhikaraṇa)	*Topics (prakaraṇa)*	*Chapters (adhyāya)*	*The teachers (ācāryāḥ)*	*Schools*	*Individual authors*	*Other references*	*Self-quotations of Vātsyāyana without debate*
	19	(9)	once + V.			evaṃ hy āhuḥ (thus they say) + V.	
	20	(10)					
	21	(10)					
	22	(10)			Dattaka // (Bābhravya)		
III kanyāsaṃ-prayuktakam (acquisition of a wife)	23	(1)			Ghoṭakamukha (twice)		
	24	(1)					
	25	(2)		Bābhravīyāḥ + V.	Ghoṭakamukha (twice)		
	26	(3)			Ghoṭakamukha		
	27	(3)					
	28	(4)			Ghoṭakamukha	prāyovādaḥ (general opinion)	once
	29	(4)	once				
	30	(4)					
	31	(5)	once				
IV bhāryādhikārikam (on married women)	32	(1)			Gonardīya (twice)		
	33	(1)					
	34	(2)					
	35	(2)			Gonardīya		
	36	(2)		Bābhravīyāḥ + Gonardīya + V.			
	37	(2)					
	38	(2)					
	39	(2)					

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Main sections (adhikaraṇa)	*Topics (prakaraṇa)*	*Chapters (adhyāya)*	*The teachers (ācāryāḥ)*	*Schools*	*Individual authors*	*Other references*	*Self-quotations of Vātsyāyana without debate*
V	40	(1)	once + V.		Goṇikāputra	prāyovādaḥ (general opinion)	
pāradārikam							
(on other men's	41	(1)					
wives)	42	(1)					
	43	(2)	once + V.			prāyovādaḥ (general opinion)	
	44	(2)					
	45	(3)					
	46	(4)		Bābhravīyāḥ + V. // Bābhravīyāḥ + Goṇikāputra + V.	Auddālaki + Bābhravīyāḥ + Goṇikāputra + V. // Goṇikāputra		
	47	(5)					
	48	(6)					once
	49	(6)	once + Goṇikāputra + V.	Bābhravīyāḥ + V.			
VI	50	(1)	once + V.				
vaiśikam	51	(1)					
(on courtesans)	52	(2)			Dattaka		
	53	(3)	once + V.		(Dattaka implicite)		
	54	(3)					
	55	(3)			Dattaka		
	56	(4)	once + V.				
	57	(5)	seven times + V. after each				
	58	(6)			Auddālaki + Bābhravīyāḥ		

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Main sections (adhikaraṇa)	*Topics (prakaraṇa)*	*Chapters (adhyāya)*	*The teachers (ācāryāḥ)*	*Schools*	*Individual authors*	*Other references*	*Self-quotations of Vātsyāyana without debate*
VII	59	(1)					
aupaniṣadikam	60	(1)					
(secret means)	61	(1)					
	62	(2)			(Bābhravya + V.)		
	63	(2)					
	64	(4)			Bābhravya, V. (in stanza)		

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THE QUOTATIONS IN THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA OF KAUṬALYA (OR KAUṬILYA)

adhikaraṇas	*prakaraṇas*	*The teachers (ācāryāḥ)*	*Schools*	*Individual authors*
I	1	once + K.	Mānavāḥ + Bārhaspatyāḥ + Auśanasaḥ + K.	
	4			Bhāradvāja + Viśālākṣa + Parāśara + Piśuna + Kauṇapadanta + Vātavyādhi + Bāhudantīputra + K.
	6	once + K. (in stanza)		
	11		Mānavāḥ + Bārhaspatyāḥ + Auśanasaḥ + K.	Bhāradvāja + Viśālākṣa + Parāśara + Piśuna + K.
	13		Āmbhīyāḥ + K.	Bhāradvāja + Viśālākṣa + Parāśara + Piśuna + Kauṇapadanta + Vātavyādhi + K.
II	25		Mānavāḥ + Parāśaráḥ + Bārhaspatyāḥ + Auśanasaḥ + K.	
	27	once + K.		
III	59	once + K.		
	60	once + K. once + apare (others) + K.	Auśanasaḥ	
	63		Auśanasaḥ + Mānavāḥ + Bārhaspatyāḥ + K.	
	66	once + K.		
	71	once + K.	Mānavāḥ + Auśanasaḥ + Bārhaspatyāḥ + K.	

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adhikaraṇas	*prakaraṇas*	*The teachers (ācāryāḥ)*	*Schools*	*Individual authors*
	73	twice + K. after each		
	74	once + K.		
IV		———	———	———
V	93			Kātyāyana + Kaniṅka Bhāradvāja + Dīrgha Cārāyaṇa + Ghoṭamukha + Kiṃjalka + Piśuna + Piśunaputra
VI		———	———	———
VII	98	once + Vātavyādhi + K.		
	99	once + K.		
	103	once + K.		
	108	twice + K. after each		
	112	once + K.		
	116	fourteen times + K. after each		
	117	once + K.		
	119	once + K.		
	122	once + K.		
VIII	127	once + K.		Bhāradvāja + K. + Viśālākṣa + K. + Parāśara + K. + Piśuna + K. + Kauṇapadanta + K. + Vātavyādhi + K.
	128	four times + K. after each		
	129			Same form of debate as in VIII, 127
	130	twelve times + K. after each		

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adhikaraṇas	*prakaraṇas*	*The teachers (ācāryāḥ)*	*Schools*	*Individual authors*
IX	135	four times + K. after each eke (some) + eke + K.		
	138	once + K.		
X	158		Auśanasaḥ + Bārhaspatyāḥ	
XI		———	———	———
XII	162			Bhāradvāja + Viśālākṣa + K.
XIII		———	———	———
XIV		———	———	———
XV			refers to schools in I, 11 and X, 158	

Self-quotations of K. (= *Kauṭilya or Kauṭalya*) in I, 3; III, 4; VII, 119 and XIII, 174.

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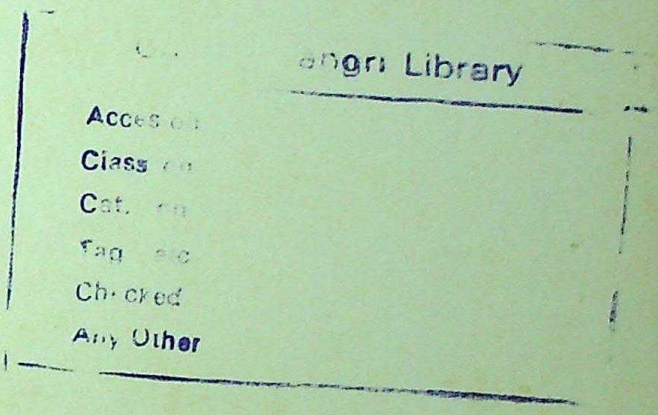

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